Margt Thomas

# National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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**National Anti-Slavery Standard.**

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## Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

## THE PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION.

### GROWLS OF THE PRO-SLAVERY PRESS.

### THE NEW YORK EXPRESS.

The President now has but one thing more to do, to execute the *programme* that *Puritan* abolitionism of New England demands of him, and that is, the *arming of the slaves*—the quicker he does which, the quicker the agony of the struggle of opinions, in his councils, will be over. It is now past the day when such arming can do harm Southward—and as, Northward, it may more efficiently unite the radical Abolitionists in his support (his recent proclamation cutting off all conservative men), the quicker he unites that abolition sentiment—developes, arouses and inspires it—the better, perhaps, now for him, as well as for all concerned with him. If it but brings the Abolitionists all into the army, it *may* "pay."

Our own opinion, from the start, has been, that as in the case of the Maine law, the Puritan mind of New England *will* work itself out—over, or under, or around, and in despite of, any Constitution or law of nature—the quicker, therefore, the better for the peace of the country. The Maine law, so potent in theory, once "enacted," abolished itself—and hence, we reason now, that the quicker all the abolition theories are now all worked out, by the now *surrendering* President, the better for us all. Hence, we abandon all resistance to abolition policy now, and holding only to the right of protest, cry, "Go ahead," "go on." As they all think the arming of the slaves will end the war, the quicker the experiment is tried, the quicker that opinion will triumph or fail, and thus end that part of the programme President Lincoln is now *forced* to serve in and to carry out.

### THE NEW YORK WORLD.

President Lincoln has swung loose from the constitutional moorings of his Inaugural address and his messages at the opening of the two successive sessions of Congress under his administration. He is fully adrift on the current of radical fanaticism. We regret for his sake, we lament for the sake of the country, that he has been coerced by the insanity of the radicals, by the denunciation of their presses, by the threats of their Governors and Senators that he should resign, into a proclamation which on its face violates the Constitution, is contrary to the general current of civilization in the conduct of war as it has run since the Crusades, is in opposition to the solemn declarations made by our government that this was not to be a war of subjugation, and in manifest obstruction of the reunion of those States for which the nation has fought, and is ready to lavish its blood and treasure.

This extraordinary proclamation will bring no advantages to the negro race at all proportionate to the obstructions it throws in the way of reunion. It is certain that the Union will never be restored till this ill-advised action of the government is reversed. It converts every inhabitant of the South into a zealot whose all is embarked in the success of the rebellion. The idea that they will succumb to threats, that they will vote on compulsion, that they will feel terror, or misgivings, or anything but increased indignation, at such a proclamation, shows small knowledge either of human nature or of the temper of the Southern mind. Such a proclamation cannot possibly be enforced, and its only effect will be to strengthen the determination of the rebels to fight to the very last. They are shut up to a lane which has no turning. When the military power of the rebels is broken we have laid before ourselves a still harder task to perform. At the very crisis of the contest of arms the President has reënforced them as effectually as if he had doubled their squadrons in the field. We may learn from our enemies. They will rejoice. Their leaders will make of this proclamation their chiefest moral weapon. It is powerless in our hands for good; in theirs it will be potent for evil. Our only salvation now is in the ballot-box. To that it yet remains possible for the people to resort. There the battle lost to-day may be won to-morrow. There alone the insulted majesty of the Constitution may be vindicated by the people against its faithless custodians.

### THE BOSTON COURIER.

Mr. Lincoln may think it worth while to keep up this show of compliance to the radicals, but he cannot help being aware that such documents as this last proclamation of his, can penetrate but a little way over the Southern border, and can excite only derision where they penetrate. As to freeing slaves by such a paper *pronunciamento*—it will have no more effect upon the slaves in the Southern States, than if Mr. Lincoln should order the north wind to blow continually over the Southern fields, in order to produce a change in the atmosphere, or in the usual crops of that region of the country. At all events, whatever fruits may follow from a document so uncertain in scope and point of time, the country may safely wait for the lapse of the months yet in store—confident that they will pass at least, whatever circumstances may tend to vary the course of coming events.

In reality, we do not now recall any fact, to show that Mr. Lincoln's proclamations have had the slightest influence in the South, whatever consequences may have resulted from their promulgation in the North. Of this fact he seemed well aware himself, when he informed the "Progressive Friends" that a document of this species must fall still-born at the very outskirts of a hostility, of which we had no practical hold; and to our judgment the moment for such a manifesto would seem even less propitious now, than at that period. He seems also to have forgotten another statement made by him, we believe, on the same occasion, that such a proclamation would lose the government 50,000 soldiers from the Border States. If, however, the radicals are satisfied with a prolongation of their agonies through a period so liable to mutations as the coming quarter, we do not know why our composure should be at present disturbed.

### THE NEW YORK JOURNAL OF COMMERCE.

The long agony of the radicals is over. They have pressed for a proclamation and the proclamation they have to the full extent of their wishes. Their curses on the President are changed to invocations of blessing, and they are, or ought to be, satisfied. . . . Conservative men have a duty to perform which is more onerous, more holy, more binding on them than ever before. The responsibility which radicalism has assumed we all know well it can never sustain. We may well look with infinite anxiety into the future while they make the experiment. But we must not turn our heads back. We must not falter. We must not betray the trust confided in us by God, for as surely as He reigns, the hope of America to-day is, under Him, only in the conservative men of the North; and our duty to Him demands that we stand firm to sustain the great responsibility, when radicalism, failing, sinks crushed, as it will, now within a brief period. Stand by the government of the United States! By God's help that government shall be the glory of the world when rebellion and radicalism are swept away on the winds. The men who have labored against this new policy will yet be looked to to save the nation, and that very soon. Already the radical leaders, within twenty-four hours after the issue of their long-wanted proclamation, tremble in view of the load they have assumed, and avow in whispers their want of faith in its doing any good. We who are old-time defenders of every line and letter of the Constitution—we who have believed that that instrument might yet save us—look with profound sorrow on the insult it receives, but we believe in its power to survive even that, and we counsel unity of purpose, steadfastness of devotion, and unfailing allegiance to the government by all who would look back hereafter with satisfaction on the memory of this time of trial.

### THE NEWBURYPORT (MASS.) HERALD.

We don't think that any sane man supposes that under the present circumstances, there will be any fewer rebels in January than there are to-day, so that the President's proclamation will do for Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina, all that Hunter's would have done, if Mr. Lincoln had said nothing about it, and all and more than Gen. Phelps's proclamation proposed for the South-west. Then we shall have freedom proclaimed with the new year in all the States but Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri; and when freedom is universal north of them, where is the institution in those States?

We say then that the proclamation is one of universal emancipation—nothing more and nothing less; and the war hereafter must be for *just what the rebels charged it to be originally*—a war for the abolition of slavery. Now, next after the words is the action—next after the proclamation is its enforcement. The slaves are to be free just so far as we can make them free; and how far that will be we shall know when the war ends, which may be in one year, or a dozen. To foretell what will be to-morrow, is now more uncertain than ever, for beyond this present moment nobody can see one hour—nobody can peer one inch. From this time we feel our way till some new light appears.

### THE ROCHESTER UNION.

We have heard very directly and through reliable channels, that Mr. Slidell was accustomed to say last winter in Paris, that a speech in Congress by Charles Sumner, Thad. Stevens, and others of the ultra stamp was worth more to the South than a victory in the field. And we know, from an intelligent and well known Kentuckian, that a very large element in his State is swayed to and fro from Union to secession sympathies and *vice versa*, accordingly as the tendency of the government for the time being was towards a conservative or a radical policy. And how it is possible that adequately compensating advantages can accrue as the fruits of the proclamation in the Free States, we cannot perceive; since here the whole people already sustain the government against the rebels.

On the whole, perhaps it were as well that such a proclamation should be issued. The radicals would forever persist in declaring that the rebellion could have been put down promptly at any time by the very simple expedient of a paper manifesto awarding freedom to the slave. Now we have the manifesto; and we shall see whether it possesses the magic power that has been attributed to it by its advocates. Let us hope, most fervently hope, that we, not they, will be disappointed in its results.

### THE NEW YORK HERALD.

The President's proclamation has brightened the country like a burst of sunshine. Men look through the wretched but transparent negro in it, and see clearly the end of the war. Old Abe has evidently risen in his stirrups and surveyed the field of battle, as McClellan did the contest at Antietam Creek, and he has determined that the war shall be over in ninety days. Therefore, like Roderick Dhu, he blows a tremendous blast upon his war bugle, and the whole land gladly reechoes with the joyous notes. It is said that he had some difficulty in beginning his performance. One member of the Cabinet objected that the bugle was cracked. Another didn't like the tune to be played. A third insisted that the President was broken-winded and unable to raise a solitary toot. All such remonstrances were, however, in vain. Abraham Lincoln put his foot down, puffed out his cheeks, and wound his horn as cheerily as ever did one of Robin Hood's merrie men, arrayed in the Lincoln green of the President's ancestors, and sporting in the depths of Sherwood forest.

The people listen and rejoice. The President's bugle makes this rebellion stagger, as the horns of Joshua's priests upset the walls of Jericho. When McClellan began his triumphant march through Maryland, the country took heart and commenced to enjoy itself. As victory after victory crowned our arms, and this proclamation of the President began to be anticipated, the enjoyment became more general, and the people more lively. Who now can set bounds to the popular exultation, when the President has definitely and authoritatively settled the period at which the rebellion is to be ended, and when our army of over a million of men is to sweep over the South like a new broom over a dirty floor? Jacobin committees and Governors of New England, or any other States, cannot defuy this happy consummation. The President will silence them, as he has silenced the members of his Cabinet, and if he were to make a raid upon the rear of both Governors and Cabinet members, and forcibly eject them from his presence, no one would weep. Indeed a new Cabinet would be no bad idea in connection with this new policy. That matter must, however, be left with the President, who is several feet taller physically, and several miles higher mentally than any of his present advisers. It is enough for us to dance with joy and shout with poor, ragged, rampant, dirty, delighted Greeley—who don't yet see the point—"God bless Abraham Lincoln," remembering to forget how lustily Greeley cried, "God do the other thing to Abraham Lincoln," a short time ago. The Opera House and the theatres have been crowded before; but they will be jammed now. No wonder that every one wishes to get rid of his postage stamps and see a play. The theatres, quite as much as the churches, are places of public thanksgiving and praise, besides affording equally excellent opportunities for the ladies to display the latest fashions in dress and the last new thing in bonnets. A victory, and the theatres are crowded. A defeat, and the theatres are empty. There you have just the same distinction as between the *Te deum* and the *Miserere*, or between Jeff. Davis's fast day and a Yankee thanksgiving.

The radicals have already fallen from enthusiasm to distrust in regard to the proclamation. *The Times*, which went off at half cock about the document on Tuesday, seems to have determined to take a little time for reflection, and so said not a word upon the subject yesterday. *The Tribune*, which has been cursing and abusing the President for some time past, indicting him for malfeasance in office, accusing him of not executing the laws, charging him with the murder of the riotous negroes at New Orleans, and hinting to him that he had disgusted everybody by his inefficiency, and that it was the prayer of twenty million that he should resign, came out strong with a "God bless Abraham Lincoln" on Tuesday; but yesterday, having reconsidered the matter, it indulges in a wiggle-waggle, and exclaims, "God bless Abraham Lincoln, it everything turns out as we desire, and if he changes his Cabinet and his Generals, and if this proclamation is really so great a thing as we think, and if the President is really what we want him to be." "What a fall is here, my countrymen!"

These newspapers show the workings of the radical mind. The fact is that *The Tribune* will come out dead against this proclamation before many weeks, and will accuse the President of trickery and double-dealing unless all the demands of the radicals are granted, and the Cabinet is reconstructed from such rotten timber as Sumner, Wade, Wilson and Greeley, with the foolish Fremont as Commander-in-Chief of the army, and Phelps, Wadsworth and Hunter in high commands. What the radicals desire is not merely an emancipation proclamation. Wendell Phillips expressed their wishes through *The Independent* some time ago, in the simple phrase, "Give us place." To satisfy them by giving them what they demand is as impossible as to stop the ravings of a madman by complying with his insane desires. The day after the President sent to Congress his message recommending an offer of compensation for the slaves of Border States, the radical press praised God and blessed Abraham Lincoln in the same profane, crazy style as on Tuesday last. But what followed? Why, the radicals in Congress at first treated the President's message with profound contempt, the Senate even refusing to hear it read, and finally passed his resolution without making it practical by the necessary appropriation, and in a few days the radical papers were more insolent, clamorous and abusive than ever. Are the lessons of experience nothing? Is the country to be utterly destroyed before the real character of the radicals is fully understood? Are all the outrageous demands of this revolutionary faction to be granted, and its leaders to sit grinning like modern Neros upon the ruins of this great nation? Time alone can decide, and it is not for us to turn prophet or sit upon the tripod.

## Selections.

## THE PROCLAMATION OF FREEDOM.

### OPINIONS OF THE LOYAL PRESS.

### THE INDEPENDENT.

We send forth, to-day, the most extraordinary document ever proceeding from this government. It is a decree of substantial emancipation, issued by the Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy of the United States of America. Perhaps it is too much to say that it is a decree of emancipation. It is rather a solemn notice served upon rebellious States that such a decree will be made upon the 1st of January, 1863. It is like a bond for a deed, and will in due time compel the execution and delivery of the deed.

There can be no state paper imagined more noble than one which carries substantial liberty to millions of slaves. It is that very moral grandeur and sublime importance which makes us jealous of anything which threatens its certainity or diminishes its moral power.

We could have wished that the decree had been without future date; immediate and unconditional. To be sure, it is not likely that the South, or any part of it, will return to allegiance before next January. If only McClellan remains in command, we may be sure that no military vigor will compel the South to submission; and the bitterness of hatred which is known to exist among all classes at the South towards the North, will not be alleviated by this Proclamation. So, though there *may* be events which will defeat this intention of emancipation, they are not probable, and would excite no fear, were the interests involved less momentous.

We could wish, too, that Mr. Lincoln should have based this proposed liberation upon grounds of justice to the slave. The glory of our fathers was their constant recurrence to fundamental and universal principles. The habit of doing right things from motives of mere expediency, tends to destroy nobility and heroism in a people. We could not blame Mr. Lincoln because, in time of peace, he felt himself restrained by his oath from doing an act of abstract justice and substantial humanity, by a violation of the law and Constitution. But when the exigencies of war had made that a duty, under the Constitution and for its very preservation, which, before, would have been a violation of it, we could have wished that the act should have been ennobled by being placed upon the ground, not of expediency or necessity, but of justice and rectitude. This may seem a mere trifling to politicians. It cannot be a little thing to Christian men that the actions of a government are based upon principles, and not upon mere selfishness or expediency! We are in danger of forgetting, or worse, of becoming ashamed of, the great moral principles on which our fathers built our institutions. Because the assertion of the rights of men, in our times and country, must mean the rights of slaves, we are in danger of transferring to the abstract principles the prejudice and odium which we have been corrupted to feel at its application to servile black men. Thus our sin carries its punishment. We deny the African his political rights, and he corrupts our political principles. Would it not have been seemly and world-renowned had Mr. Lincoln been moved to declare that the act which the exigency of war gave him the liberty of doing, he performed as an act of eternal justice, and in consonance with the principles on which our institutions were built? It is not to find fault that we make these remarks, but out of a vehement desire that nothing may be wanting in act or principle to give to these renowned Western Commonwealths the utmost glory! For the sake of liberty, for the sake of that religion which inspires the wish and gives the ability for self-government, for the sake of the welfare of the common people the world over, we ask for this nation the noblest deeds from the noblest motives!

It has been our peculiar misfortune to be so tied up by civil restrictions, that the government could not perform an act of justice, in consonance with the spirit of our age and the spirit of our Constitution, without stepping over into the dangerous ground of revolution. Only war could give to the President liberty to emancipate. And now, he advances to an act of supreme justice and humanity *by ways sound and constitutional*, opened by the madness of the South. The sword has cut the knot that statesmen and economists could not untie. That war which at first seemed an awful disaster, a stupendous folly, has, indeed, proved to be a folly, but a Divine folly: "Because the foolishness of God is wiser than men: and the weakness of God is stronger than men."

This decree of emancipation is the dividing line between a dark past and a hopeful future. The sun crosses the equator, travelling northward. The days hereafter will grow longer, and the nights shorter.

We now see that secession being the premiss, emancipation must be the logical conclusion.

That Proclamation is the drawing of a sword that can never be sheathed again. The very existence of the loyal States will now depend upon the enforcement of this decree. Slavery is the heart of the South. The South will forgive everything else; but a serious and avowed determination to subvert *that* will never be forgiven. We can imagine how a party might have sprung up in the North, by and by, that would say to the South, Only a fraction of radicals ever meant to subvert slavery; the loyal masses respected your rights. Pilate and Herod might have become friends again, if only Christ or his poor were on the cross.

But that delusive gloze and hollow truce are no longer possible. The nation is committed. Either there must be revolution in the North, or else all dissentients must submit, and the North stands as a mighty unit with the President!

The Proclamation is a war measure. It is deemed needful to the safety of the country, and to the success of our military affairs. This is not alone the President's belief. It is the conviction of almost every able General, without regard to past political affiliations. Fremont is no stronger on that ground to-day than are Burnside, Hooker, and McClellan. There can be no party found in the North against the Administration, on this ground, that is not a party against the war.

A second time an opposition party is crushed in the egg. When McClellan was before Richmond, and was, every day, going to take it, the Woods, the Brookses, and others of the Vallandigham faith and order, had prepared, on the entrance into Richmond, to launch a party for peace and compromise. McClellan's retreat was as disastrous to them as to his army. They lost their ammunition, artillery and baggage-train. There was not enough of that party left to laugh at. But another party has just now been formed. This Proclamation is like Ithuriel's rod. It will turn every toad to his true infernal form. A distinction between supporting the war, and opposing the war policy, will be too nice to go before the people on. They are routed without a battle. They must go over to the South or take sides with the Administration. Public sentiment will compel the latter course. It will be impossible, then, to persuade the South, hereafter, that the North did not mean to injure her institutions. "I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, and Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy thereof, do hereby PROCLAIM and DECLARE." This is the authorized voice of the nation. It is the handwriting on the wall. That proclamation cannot be suppressed. Its edict cannot be rubbed out. The Southern eye reads, "MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN."

Nobody can hereafter make believe that doom has not been decreed against slavery by the North as a penalty of rebellion. There is nothing for it now but do or die. One side or the other must go down. It is a fight for life or death between the North and its principles of liberty, and the South and its economy of slavery.

No more guizes and veils. No more side-issues. No more deceitful compromises. The government has taken ground, and every man in the nation must take ground. You are for or against this government, and this government is declared to mean liberty to the slave! There is no neutral ground for traitors to hide in, playing wolf at night and sheep by day. The President's Proclamation will sift the North, give unity to its people, simplicity to its policy, liberty to its army! That whole army is no longer a mongrel something between a police force and a political caucus. It is an ARMY organized to strike where blows will be most felt.

The Proclamation emancipates slaves in thrice thirty days. But it emancipates the government and the army to-day. The nation is freer than it was on the 21st. We have a policy. The people will base it upon a principle. It is the policy of liberty upon the principle of justice. The future is before us! Through what dark days we must pass, we know not. What battles and what reverses are in store, we do not inquire. At last, we have a right to believe that God is leading us. He who carried his people from bondage through the wilderness, and established them in the promised land, can surely guide us!

Let sorrows fall fast; there is joy before us! We behold upon the troubled sea a Christ coming to us, walking on the waves! In his hand are winds and storms. Every hour now moves toward the great day of Emancipation. At length the dawn shall bring that day most eminent in our national calendar. Amid all the festivities that usher in the year, there shall be a great joy, deeper, purer, holier than ever came to us with the new year, the joy of a nation that, after long sorrow and shame, shall cast off from itself the guilt of slavery, and stand erect before the world, a consistent witness for liberty!—*H. W. Beecher.*

### THE NEWARK (N. J.) ADVERTISER.

Few will be able to deny, on a consideration of the whole subject, and when it is borne in mind that his proclamation is issued in the performance of an imperative executive duty, that he has discharged a delicate and difficult task, in itself, perhaps, repugnant to him and certainly not self-imposed, with singular tact and rare moderation.

### THE NEW YORK EVANGELIST.

This is a stupendous act. It in effect gives notice to the rebels, that if they do not lay down their arms in less than one hundred days, the bonds shall be stricken from the limbs of millions of slaves.

It is too soon to speak of the effect of such a policy both North and South. Many will say that it will exasperate the South still more. But on that point we are quite at ease. *They are already as bitter as they can be.* All attempts at reconciliation have been repulsed. When men are in a fury of passion it is no time to try soft words. They can only be subdued by the stern severity of law and justice, enforced by all the power of the country.

At the North it may offend some, but we believe it will animate more. It will revive the enthusiasm of the people. It gives them a new object to fight for. They will feel that they are not now fighting for Union alone, but for Union and liberty. May God give them the victory!

### THE NEW YORK CHRONICLE.

We have reached the issue at last—that of freedom or slavery as the result of this war. Putting down rebellion henceforth means universal liberty. * * * In spite of the endeavors of the nation and its government to divert the war from emancipation and to accomplish its objects without interfering with slavery, events under the guidance of justice, wisdom, and goodness have drifted us in a direction to make this our cherished scheme impossible. Slavery was the cause of the war, and slavery must become the chief object of its assaults.

Nations and governments are mere instruments in the hands of Providence. They mean one thing, but God means another. The South would make rebellion the basis of a great slave empire, but God is using it to free this continent from the curse and blight of chattelism and involuntary servitude. The North made war to restore the Union, God permitted it to extinguish slavery. How could the South or the North succeed against the decrees of Providence? "Hast thou an arm like His?"

Men look at interest, precedent, power; God "regards the prayers of the destitute, and He will not despise their prayer." Our embattled hosts enter the South saying, "We have not come to disturb the relations of master and slave"; but God says, "I have surely seen the affliction of my people, and have heard their cry by reason of their taskmasters; for I have known their sorrows; and I have come down to deliver them." How unavailing to *us* the pleading of the slave! How eloquent in the ears of *God!*

We have at length reached a point of coincidence with God, and now let the battle wax hot. Let there be no lagging forces, but all, all concentrated upon the one object of wiping out from this continent the sin and curse of slavery. We have now a purpose worthy of freemen. We are expunging from our Declaration of Independence cant and hypocrisy, and making it the honest creed of all nations and ages. Ye lovers of freedom in America, in Canada, in Mexico, in Europe, rally to the battle's front to give efficacy to God's decree that His poor banished and enslaved ones shall go free.

### THE SALEM (MASS.) REGISTER.

To doubt that the loyal people will give to the President their heartiest support in this measure would be to doubt their patriotism and the sincerity of their earnestly pronounced professions. The universality of the expression of confidence in the wisdom, the cautiousness, the honesty, the purity of purpose, the single-hearted patriotism of the Executive has been most remarkable, and must strengthen in the minds of all the belief that the President was fully satisfied that the time had come for this decisive step. Let all the people say Amen.

### THE BOSTON EVENING TRANSCRIPT.

The effect of the proclamation on the rebellious States it may be difficult to foresee. In Europe it will immensely benefit our cause. England and France will hesitate to intervene, when intervention would plainly be to throw their influence in favor of slavery. The proclamation must be regarded simply as a war measure. Whatever discussions it may at first provoke at the North, it will, we think, finally be considered as a measure which could not safely have been longer postponed.

### THE NEW HAVEN PALLADIUM.

A proclamation by Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, striking directly at slavery, the cause of the present rebellion, is the grand event of the age. It is the most important proclamation issued since the foundation of our government. It will be hailed by the loyal people of this country with a joy to which words can give no expression. It places our nation fairly on the side of right. It makes freedom henceforth our policy. It takes from our cause the support of those only who love despotism, and brings to our standard the sympathy of all Christendom, and the enthusiasm of men who desire to fight for a principle. But the President is not impulsive. With great long-suffering and forbearance he still holds out to the rebels a day of probation. He offers them three months in which to return to their allegiance. If they refuse, upon their own heads will be their ruin. The Executive government of the United States is henceforth pledged to maintain and defend the freedom of every individual slave in the rebellious States. And it will do it; for the great cause goes marching on. It is a cause "which never yet went backward." In its support we shall triumph, for the God of justice is on our side.

### THE INDEPENDENT DEMOCRAT, CONCORD, N. H.

Let the people rejoice—let all loyal hearts be glad—for Abraham Lincoln has spoken the magic word which shall open to our nation the door of deliverance from its woes. That magic word is LIBERTY. Abraham Lincoln has proclaimed emancipation. He has chosen the First Day of the New Year, 1863, as the one to be hallowed by the noble and sublime act of freedom. We may have thought the proclamation too long deferred; we might have preferred a less extended season of grace to graceless traitors and the accursed system of wrong and wickedness that has wrought such dread mischief in our land; but let us accept this great act of the President with joy and confident trust. The world will now see that justice and liberty are upon the Union side in this mighty struggle. The government has placed itself aright before the nations. God be praised. "LIBERTY" is now ineffaceably inscribed upon our banners; we shall go on conquering and to conquer, till slavery and its rebel legions are annihilated, and peace shall smile upon our nation saved, both from rebellion and its sinful cause. God bless Abraham Lincoln. Let the people stand by him and his administration—they *will* stand by them.

### THE CHRISTIAN INQUIRER.

"God Bless Abraham Lincoln!" This was the exclamation that broke from thousands of hearts on Tuesday. The proclamation of emancipation which he has issued is the great state paper of the century. It gives an issue to the country, a policy, and a principle. It puts us right with Europe, with mankind, with ourselves, and with God. Now we see by anticipation the rebellion overthrown, and our country once more marching on in its great mission of civilization and Christianity. It sanctifies all past losses, and forestalls all coming trials. It is a victory beforehand. Mr. Lincoln's name will go down to future ages as one of the greatest benefactors of the human race. We were in the depths of discouragement, but we hail this great act of justice and humanity as the crown of the efforts and sacrifices in this tremendous revolution. Every drop of blood shed in this war glistens with a new and holy consecration, when the consummation of all is to be freedom and humanity. If it effects the liberation of four million of slaves in our country, it will strike the death-blow to slavery in the rest of the world. For the system in Cuba and Brazil is only maintained by the example and influence of the United States. With the civilization of the Christian world opposed to this monster evil and wrong, its universal extinction will only be a question of time, and the struggle for its perpetuity in any country will be brief, and will end in certain defeat. Again, we say, "God bless honest Abraham Lincoln!"

### THE LIBERATOR—W. L. GARRISON.

Though we believe that this proclamation is not all that the exigency of the times and the consequent duty of the government require—and therefore are not so jubilant over it as many others—still, it is an important step in the right direction, and an act of immense historic importance, and justifies the almost universal gladness of expression and warm congratulation which it has simultaneously elicited in every part of the free States. It calls for the prompt and efficient enforcement, by the army and navy, of the Confiscation Act, as passed by Congress, whereby the slaves of all rebels who may be captured, or who may seek protection under the National flag, are to be liberated unconditionally; and as the great mass of the slaveholders are in furious rebellion, it emancipates more than three-fourths of the entire slave population, as fast as they shall become accessible. It also forbids any person connected with the military or naval service to arrest or send back any fugitive slave whatever. These commands, if faithfully executed by the army and navy, will speedily give a staggering blow to the rebellion. The objectionable features of the proclamation are its avowed readiness to return to bloody stripes and horrible torture and life-long servitude (if he be not killed outright) any hunted bondman, on the mere oath of the villain claiming him, that he is loyal to the government—its seemingly contradictory talk (for the first portion is a characteristic jumble of words) about emancipating the slaves in all existing rebel States, on the first of January, 1863 (a time sufficient to enable Jeff. Davis and his traitorous confederates to anticipate that measure themselves, and thus secure their independence by foreign intervention)—its proposition to make a new overture to the slave States to sell their slave system at a bargain—and its mean, absurd and proscriptive device to expatriate the colored population from this their native land.

### THE ALBANY EVENING JOURNAL.

We have reached the last stage in the progress of rebellion! The President, in obedience to an Act of Congress, has, so far as States, or portions of States, or masters, shall, on the first day of January, 1863, stand out in rebellion against the government, proclaimed the freedom of slaves! This is the most solemn and momentous DECLARATION the world ever witnessed. If we have the power to carry it into effect, this declaration disenthrals and enfranchises millions of human beings now held in bondage.

Of the rightfulness and righteousness of this proclamation, we have no doubt or shadow of doubt. Slavery is the cause of a rebellion which has cost us millions of treasure and hecatombs of lives. This rebellion against a government which protected and cherished alike the rights and interests of all the States, has neither justification or excuse. The forfeiture of slaves will be a light penalty for so great a crime.

The tone and temper of the proclamation is calm and dignified. Time is given for reflection. Though we have slight hope that reason will resume sway over the Southern mind, the day which should witness their return to duty and obedience would be the brightest and happiest in our national calendar.

### THE CINCINNATI PRESBYTERIAN WITNESS.

We rejoice that freedom's voice has at length been heard high above the noise and din of war, speaking through our President. This is *the* act of Abraham Lincoln's life, which will secure his name a record in the history of our country, side by side with that of Washington. As Washington is designated *Pater Patriae*, so, we trust, Lincoln has now done what will entitle him to be designated *Salvator Patriae.* In it we see the beginning of the end of the rebellion.

### THE CAPE COD REPUBLICAN.

The mists of the morning have rolled away; the Sun of Righteousness has dawned upon the Nation. God be praised! The victory is won! It was necessary that we should wade through just such a slough of despond, before the groaning nation should feel the agonizing necessity of throwing off its load of sin. "The beginning of the end" appears. AMERICA SHALL BE FREE! Abraham Lincoln has decreed it, and Providence decreed it long ago, and the people say Amen!

### THE PHILADELPHIA PRESS.

The President has done a good deed at a good time. He has pronounced the doom of slavery on the American continent. After dallying with this great sin, because he dreaded to do violence to the interests and wishes of any portion of the people, he has accepted the lesson of experience, and ends the war by putting an end to the cause of the war. If this rebellion has taught us anything, it is that by slavery we have been defeated in our national progress—by slavery the richest and fairest portions of our republic have been kept as a desert and a wilderness—by slavery a great part of the people have been estranged from one another—by slavery our institutions have been prevented from developing the blessings our fathers intended they should bestow. Slavery has been the perpetual disgrace to the American name. Slavery has bloomed into sedition, and ripened into war. Why should it live? It has menaced our dearest rights, and has robbed us of our dearest kindred. This fearful monster, intertwining itself around the vitals of the Republic, retarding its growth, destroying its usefulness, making its very existence wretched, at last sought to take the life which had nourished it, and to rend the bosom on which it had grown. In self-defence we have wrestled in its embraces—wrestled in blood, war, carnage, desolation and slaughter—and all in vain. The struggle is now for life or death. If slavery lives, the republic dies. The republic must live, and so slavery must die. This is the meaning of the President's proclamation, and his words record slavery's inevitable doom.

### THE HARTFORD (CT.) COURANT.

THE YEAR OF JUBILEE HAS COME.—* * * We rejoice most heartily that the axe is laid to the root of the tree. The proclamation meets our views both in what it does and in what it omits to do. Its limitations show that President Lincoln means to preserve good faith toward the loyal border slave States. So long as they are loyal their slaves are safe; let them become rebellious, and the terms of the proclamation will reach them like their sisters in revolt.

### THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE.

So splendid a vision has hardly shone upon the world since the day of the Messiah. From the date of this proclamation begins the history of the republic as our fathers designed to have it—the home of freedom, the asylum of the oppressed, the seat of justice, the land of equal rights under the law, where each man, however humble, shall be entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Let no one think to stay the glorious reformation. Every day's events are hastening its triumph, and whosoever shall place himself in its way it will grind him to powder.

### THE WASHINGTON (D. C.) REPUBLICAN.

This proclamation will be received by the loyal States with a perfect *furore* of acclamation. It will lose the President a few latter-day friends, who did not profess to become such until after his election, and who have been so now only for their own sinister purposes. But it will restore to the President all his old friends, and unite the sound portion of the people in one solid and impregnable mass in support of the Union and the Constitution.

### THE CINCINNATI COMMERCIAL.

We have no doubt the President's policy, as laid down in his proclamation, will be approved by an immense majority of the people of the United States who are loyal to our republican form of government. They have been called upon and are now called upon to make vast sacrifices for the general welfare. Their blood is being poured out like water, and their treasure is being lavished by hundreds of millions of dollars, to maintain in the field an army greater than that of any of the military empires of Europe. This state of affairs cannot of course continue indefinitely. If any action can be taken respecting the slaves that will tend to bring the war to a conclusion, that action will be endorsed by the people with an approach to unanimity. The most conservative cannot complain that the President has not shown, and is not showing, an eminent degree of moderation. The rebels are now only informed that at the end of three months the government will cease to recognize their slaves as property. It cannot be alleged that this is not giving fair warning.

### THE PHILADELPHIA NORTH AMERICAN.

This proclamation of the President is the decree of fate rather than the utterance of any man, and no one who has thoughtfully observed the course of recent events could fail to foresee that the cloud settling darkly around us would very soon be lighted up with a flash that would mark the turning-point of the accumulation. The storm is not over, but it is no longer gathering. We can see now that there is to be an end, and we know the end is to be favorable to the future unity and prosperity of this great nation.

### THE ANGLO-AFRICAN.

GLORY TO GOD IN THE HIGHEST! The war has been waged with so much uncertainty, and so very doubtful have been many of the acts of the government in regard to the liberation of the bondmen, that often our heart has sunk within us, sickened by the deferment of our most buoyant hopes; but this day joy sits enthroned upon our heart, and hopes the most brilliant adorn the pathway of the future, for that blow has been struck which sounds the death knell of slavery throughout the land. Abraham Lincoln, our President, has, at last, struck that blow.

We are aware that many will yet grumble because the effects of the blow are not instantaneous—because the slaveholders have yet a legal three months' hold upon their victims; but we cannot join in the chorus of these fault-finders; the proclamation is too glorious, and its beneficent results are too far reaching for us to be found finding fault with it because its effects are not instantaneous. It is enough for us to know that the deed has been done.

We comprehend well what will be its consequences in the South. The rebels will be driven to desperation—they will fight as never men fought before, but this will but ensure their annihilation, leaving room for a loyal population in those States, and thus securing a uniformity of the laws and institutions of the country, and adding untold strength to the republic.

What the President says about colonization we consider of very little importance when weighed in the balance against the great act for which the proclamation was issued. Let thanksgiving and praise be offered in every place, that we have lived to witness the issuing of a document by our Chief Magistrate wherein is found the following words:

"*And the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.*"

### THE WELLSVILLE (N. Y.) FREE PRESS.

The issue of this message dates the most important era not only in the history of the republic, but in that of the world. The consequences of that message will descend to future generations as the harbinger of peace and good will to men. It dates the overthrow of the vilest system of bondage which ever disgraced the earth. Following in the track of that decree of emancipation, will come freedom for man. The bondman will be relieved of his shackles, and freemen will everywhere be assured that liberty is henceforth established as the birthright of humanity. We shall have no more slavery in the Union, and, as a consequence, no more rebellion. True is it indeed that the madmen who are now in arms against the government will continue the insurrection till they and the vile system which they are fighting to establish and perpetuate shall be ground to powder together.

From this day dates the beginning of the end of rebellion. Let all the people rejoice! Let them praise God, and thank Him with hearts of gratitude that He has given us ABRAHAM LINCOLN for President, and has put it into the heart of that President to organize victory after a manner which provides indemnity for the past and security for the future.

THE DAY OF JUBILEE HAS COME.

### THE BOSTON CHRISTIAN REGISTER.

This is no party measure. Mr Lincoln has risen above a faction, and stands upon broad national ground. He looks to the redemption of the country from utter disintegration and ruin, and he has entered upon the policy which to his mind alone is the only means by which he can bring this war to a successful close. At the North, there is a party which will oppose the measure. This opposition will take the form of ridicule, of disparagement, of contemptible misconstruction of motive, of active and concentrated political effort. With some there will be an honest motive, with others there will be dishonest motive. The lines will be sharply drawn of opposition to the Administration, but we opine that the great masses of the people will give their hearty, unfaltering support to the measures of the government. Who of us yet has fully measured the height and breadth of this rebellion? Who yet knows how near the edge of the precipice we are treading, and shall any self-appointed leader of public opinion, who has himself failed to appreciate the issues at stake, enter into strictures of the motives or policy of the President, when the President alone is to bear the responsibility of success or failure? What we want is not a flippant criticism but a deep substratum of loyal, earnest championship. The government must be sustained by the people, if the people wish the government to live. They are ready to sacrifice property and life, let them sacrifice *opinion*, for a not distant history may prove the President to be right.

### THE COMMONWEALTH.

We give above the most important document ever issued in this country. What its bearing will be upon the rebellion and the nation we shall discuss hereafter. We ask that the honest and patriotic masses will ponder well this voice, the fruit of the President's mature judgment of what the exigencies of the nation demand. Countrymen! let the heart-beat of a mighty nation be heard at Washington! Gather in your town-halls and churches and welcome this noble voice of your President; hold up his hands; stand by him, and let him feel you standing by him! In this great moment let clergymen emulate ancient heroism; let them read next Sunday in their pulpits the great emancipation edict of Abraham Lincoln and get from their congregations, there in the presence of God, a noble resolution to send down to the President. It may be that he will have to hasten emancipation; it may be that some reply of the rebels may force him to declare the slaves free before the appointed day; let him feel that you welcome this, and will welcome an earlier day of freedom for the slave—and that his effort cannot outrun the heroic heart of the people.

### THE POUGHKEEPSIE EAGLE.

Every truly loyal heart in the whole North bounded with joy and new hope for the republic yesterday as he read the long wished for, long expected proclamation of President Lincoln, declaring that on the first day of January next all slaves in every State then in rebellion shall be free, those States to be designated by another proclamation at that time. Thus at last a blow is struck at the cause and strength of the rebellion. True the time for general emancipation is postponed till January first, but we presume this is to allow loyal slave States another opportunity to voluntarily set free their slaves, as of course the institution must cease to exist in them as soon as it is extinguished in the States farther South. This proclamation will by that time have penetrated to every portion of rebeldom, will have been canvassed in every mansion, and eagerly discussed in every cabin throughout the whole South. It will teach the Union men, if there are any, that they *must* make a determined effort to aid the government, or lose their property and slaves without remuneration. It will show the wavering border State men, not only that they must remain loyal, but that they must accept the offer of pecuniary compensation and set their slaves free also. It will whisper to the hearts of the waiting, watching millions who have patiently toiled and suffered in expectation of the coming deliverance, that the long looked for dawn of freedom's day has come. And then, all being thus ready, when the hour is struck that tells of the advent of a new year, a people will be free! the chains of slavery will fall from the limbs of the nation and we can take our boasted place among the nations as in truth the land of liberty! It is useless to say that we

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must conquer the masters and reach the slaves before we can emancipate them. When next New Year's day comes every one of them will feel and know that he is a free man, and will strike for his liberty. Four million of stout and patient laborers will be taken from the side of the rebellion, and four million of strong hands and willing hearts will be added to the side of the nation.

The future will record it as an act of the grandest statesmanship on the page of the world's history, heralding as it does the advent of light, liberty and equality to all mankind.

### THE BELLOWS FALLS (VT.) TIMES.

The great mass of the people of Vermont will receive this proclamation with much joy and satisfaction. It gives them renewed hope for the future. They will have faith that everything will be done that can be, to put down the rebellion. We are no longer to protect slaveholding traitors. Jeff. Davis and his confederate rascals would themselves have abolished slavery rather than return to the old Union, whenever, in their judgment, it was the only expedient left, and we rejoice that the President has got the start of them. By a certain class who are generally affected with a spinal difficulty whenever anything alarming happens to slavery, the proclamation will be received with doubts and coolness. But they are cordially for the Union, and will soon see the wisdom of this policy. The secesh sympathizers will of course denounce it, in common with Jeff. Davis and his fellow-traitors; but the main body of the loyal States, and such men as Andrew Johnson, Parson Brownlow, etc., will sustain the President and the government to the last. Let us thank God and take renewed courage.

### THE PROVIDENCE JOURNAL.

It is superfluous to say that the President adopts this measure strictly as a war measure, that he frees the slaves as he takes the horses or houses which it is necessary to take from the enemy. He also gives a reasonable notice to the rebellious States of his intention. He is liberal in deciding which are the rebellious districts. He will also recommend the compensation of all loyal men whose slaves shall have been set free under this proclamation. He thus guards against the charge of excessive haste, and protects the rights of men who have remained firm in their allegiance.

We are free to confess that we have never been so sanguine as many in expecting that very great military advantages would immediately result from a proclamation of emancipation. We do not see the ground for believing that there will be so general an uprising or exodus of the slaves as some look for. But that some effect will be produced, that the negroes within reach of our lines will be worth less to the South, and that in due time the effect will be very manifest, we can readily believe. At any rate, we are quite ready to see it tried. The South, inaugurating a rebellion to hold up the Slave Power, has thrown down the challenge to us, and boastfully relying on slavery as one of the main pillars of its strength, has assailed our government with a ferocity, unscrupulousness and power unparalleled in the history of rebellions. The President, whom no one can accuse of habits of haste or a fanatical disposition, but who is by temperament slow and cautious, and by training and taste inclined to conservative views on the great questions of the day, after looking over the whole field and consulting with the wisest men from all parts of the country, and, as is believed, listening with special deference to the advice of his friends from the border States, declares that the time has come for dealing directly with slavery in the rebellious districts. We say, and we believe that the great majority of loyal men in the country will say, we are ready for the step. That we need the aid of all the means we can command, no one can deny. If this will help put down this iniquitous rebellion, in Heaven's name let us try it faithfully.

### THE HARTFORD PRESS.

It executes the Congressional Act of Emancipation, it obeys the military necessity of the time, it keeps pace with the cause of freedom round the globe, and it does all with the dignity that becomes a great nation, with the consideration that becomes a humane one. But let no one imagine that this proclamation ends the rebellion, or will end it on the 1st of January, 1863. It points the certain way to end it forever. But it is to be enforced by arms, by a torrent of Northern war. There are disadvantages that have encumbered our armies which this proclamation will remove. But the necessity of the most energetic military operations is not lessened—perhaps is increased by it. But the end is certain victory, permanent peace. We look to see the united North, as one man, bring all its energies to bear against the rebellion and for the Union. The most conservative men of the country have from the first sustained and defended the acts of President Lincoln. Be sure that this proclamation would not have been issued if the President and his conservative advisers did not judge that the hour had fully come for it.

### THE SPRINGFIELD REPUBLICAN.

It is now evident that the President has not been driven by the clamor of an impatient faction of his friends, nor restrained by the counsels of the timid and hesitating, but that he has had a definite plan from the beginning, and the relation of each step in his anti-slavery policy to that which has followed is now apparent. And his integrity, his prudence, his courage, his supreme fidelity to the Constitution, and his purpose to do nothing which did not evidently tend to the salvation of the Union, and to neglect nothing that would obviously contribute to that great end, are all fully, nobly, triumphantly vindicated. His action is timely—neither too soon nor too late. It is thorough—neither defeating itself by half-way measures nor by passionate excess. It is just and magnanimous—doing no wrong to any loyal man and offering no needless exasperation to the disloyal. It is practical and effective—attempting neither too little nor too much. And it will be sustained by the great mass of the loyal people, North and South, and thus by the courage and prudence of the President the greatest social and political revolution of the age will be triumphantly carried through in the midst of a civil war.

### THE JANESVILLE (WISCONSIN) FREE PRESS.

The proclamation lets a broad and glorious gleam of light upon the darkness which was enshrouding the Union. Now, there will be a *heart* in the prosecution of the war which was alone needed to ensure its successful termination. Rebels are to be hereafter treated as *rebels*, despoiled of their property and their cherished institution, the inciting cause of the rebellion is no longer to be regarded as too sacred or too fearful an object to be assailed and overthrown. The earnest thanks of millions of true hearts will go out to President Lincoln for the decisive and needed policy he has at length adopted. No longer will the nation be humiliated at home or taunted abroad for a neglect to strike where the blow would fall the heaviest and sink the deepest. And when the war closes, and the authority of a defied government is restored, there will be a broad, *free* country to take its stand among the nations of the earth. All hail to the proclamation of President Lincoln! The blessing of God and the support of the people will follow it.

### THE PORTSMOUTH (N. H.) JOURNAL.

It is with much satisfaction that we give to-day the proclamation of President Lincoln, emancipating the slaves in all rebel States which may continue in rebellion after the close of the present year. Three months is sufficient time for the inhabitants of those States to weigh the consequences of continuing their hostile opposition to the government, carrying on a deadly warfare of which they are now reaping the most bitter fruits, and in the event of their continued opposition, working out their own destruction. We are not without the expectation that some of the rebel States will be disposed, ere the three months expire, to lay down their arms and take means for returning to the position in the Union which they formerly held—and which they might have held undisturbed to the present and a long future time, had they not brought the evils of a civil war upon the nation.

Our expectation, however, we must confess, is but feeble. "Whom the gods wish to destroy they first make mad" has been so strikingly illustrated in the spirit which the rebels have manifested, that a view of their whole operations for the last two years displays the hand of an overruling Providence operating for the destruction of slavery through the direct agency of those who wish to sustain it.

Whatever may have been the feelings of the North in regard to Southern slavery, there never was contemplated any personal opposition whereby it should be forcibly abolished in any State where it existed, and over which the North had no constitutional control. The South, however, have, by their iniquitous doings, placed themselves in a position in which the President of the United States has the undisputed right, and it has really become his bounden duty, to emancipate four-fifths of all the slaves in the nation. And when this is done, how long will slavery be a desirable institution in Delaware, Maryland, Missouri or Kentucky?

The proclamation of President Lincoln may be regarded as the declaration of general emancipation!—a declaration which the South, not the North, has enforced him to make. So it is. We have only to say,

"God moves in a mysterious way
His wonders to perform."

### THE CHICAGO NEW COVENANT.

A brighter day is now dawning on our country. This proclamation will tend to hasten the death of the Southern rebellion, and to restore peace to our beloved country. Henceforth America will be in reality what she long has been in song, "THE LAND OF THE FREE." Slavery is to be driven from the United States—and here shall dwell henceforth liberty for all, without regard to condition or color. Events are rushing on with rapid feet, and a spirit has been evoked in the North that cannot be appeased but by the death of slavery. God be thanked for the President's proclamation!

### THE MILWAUKEE DAILY LIFE.

It is a wonderful stride forward on the part of the Administration. Prospective emancipation to the slaves of loyal as well as disloyal men in rebel States and sections of States is now inscribed on its banner. It has recognized a principle which is applicable to all the slave States. Let us hope that the next three months will prepare the President to "proclaim liberty throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof." Then may we expect to see all loyal men united for the overthrow of rebellion, and the authority of the government speedily reëstablished over every rood of the republic.

### THE NEW YORK MERCURY.

The President has at last waked up to the fact that we are engaged in a war with slavery, and has taken one step forward in the right direction. The proclamation, which has absorbed universal attention since it was issued, is an evidence of the emancipation of the President himself from the pro-slavery associations that surrounded him since he entered the White House. It is important in the results it will produce, but more important as an indication of future policy. Had it been proclaimed long ago, it would have aided to bring the rebels to their senses, by assuring them that the safety of their favorite institution was not the chief end and aim of Union soldiers in migrating into their neighborhood. But it is better late than never. Whatever reception the proclamation may meet at the hands of sympathizers with the rebellion who never wished to see it suppressed, it has already added a new stimulus to the flagging zeal of the people, as it shows that the war is henceforth to have an idea connected with it, and is not to proceed in the vague, indefinite, purposeless, and, consequently, unsuccessful way in which it has been carried on up to the present time. The proclamation not only strikes the exposed point of the rebellion, but touches the unsound spot in our own section. The squirming which it has caused among the covert traitors among ourselves, shows that it has struck the mark, and not only hit the rebellion, but wounded its Northern allies.

The proclamation may not produce an immediate effect; no such document can enforce itself. It will require victories in the field to drive it home; but it opens the way to ultimate and complete success. It is a notification to the rebels that we are about to turn over a new leaf, and to use their own weapons against them. Some, indeed, aver that it will be of no practical effect, any more than an edict against low water in the Mississippi, or bad roads in Virginia. But we doubt if the idea will find a ready acceptance among those whom it concerns most. We may acquire an idea of what influence it will be likely to exert, if we reflect on the terror into which the rebels have been thrown by the few imperfect half-way attempts previously made to render the darky of some service. The experiment of Gen. Hunter and the acts of Gen. Phelps aroused such fearful apprehension, that the rebel Congressmen swore and gnashed their teeth, and threatened to shoot every white officer of black troops, and sell the men themselves into slavery when they happened to catch them. Disguise it as they may, the proclamation will strike terror to the heart of the rebellion; it will reinvigorate the North, and satisfy all that the President really intends to make war, after the first of January; and inspire the expectation that it will be followed up by still more vigorous measures, and prove to have been the harbinger of victory.

### THE NEW YORK TIMES.

The proclamation has done great good already. It has had a good effect upon the public mind in the Northern States. It has carried the conviction everywhere that the government is in earnest in its contest with rebellion—and that it has at last a *policy*, a clear and distinct system of conduct, by which it seeks to crush it. It has met a strong and fervid aspiration of the Northern heart, and given new life and vigor to the determined purpose of the Northern mind. It increases the motives for perseverance in this gigantic contest. It holds out the hope that besides restoring the Union, we shall extinguish forever that dire curse which has poisoned the very fountain of liberty, and detracted infinitely from the value of the Union itself. It holds out the promise of reëstablishing the Constitution in all its old supremacy, and at the same time of removing that dreadful evil which has weakened its authority and prevented it from securing the blessings it was intended to confer on ourselves and our posterity.

One thing only now remains:—let us push forward our armies, clothed as they are with this new and terrible power. Let us carry them into the very heart of the slaveholding States, that they may there give full and complete effect to this edict of emancipation. Let us crush the military power which is the only bulwark of slavery at the present moment, and at the same time put an end to the rebellion itself. Henceforth they must stand or fall together.

### THE BANGOR COURIER.

The President's proclamation, while it is hailed with joy by the great majority of loyal men, will be received with fear and trembling by some, and with indignation by a few. Opposition we do not look for, because it is the deliberately adopted policy of the government announced after a long and thorough trial of milder and more conciliatory methods of handling the rebellion. No man can say the new policy is not a just one; for what can rebels, who aim at the destruction of their country, claim but a stern application of every means of war? It cannot truly be called unconstitutional, for men who have violated all their constitutional duties can have no right to claim the shield of that Constitution for the very sinews of their rebellion.

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## *ORIGIN OF THE PROCLAMATION.*

Correspondence of The Commercial Advertiser.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 25.

. . . . MANY had hoped that the President would issue the desired proclamation on the anniversary of our National Independence. But between the 11th and the 22d of the present month, he was evidently inspired to issue the long-talked-of document, surprising many who had waited for it until they had almost ceased to hope. And it is believed here that the first intimation that at least a majority of the Cabinet had of this important measure, was its presentation to them on the afternoon of the 22d instant, as a state paper to be issued that day. The propriety of issuing such a document was not made a subject of discussion, nor were the opinions of those present on the policy of such a step asked. A few points were talked over, an argument in favor of the document was read and it was un fait accompli. At any rate such is the version in circulation here, and generally credited.

The argument in favor of the immediate issue of the proclamation is said to have been a long letter, written by Robert Dale Owen, Esq., who also wrote a letter on the subject some time since, which was published. The letter read before the Cabinet is said to have taken higher and stronger ground, and to have urged the necessity of some such measure in order to forestall any emancipation project which Jeff. Davis might adopt, as a last bid for recognition by the European powers. Many persons here, who are generally well informed on public affairs, are of opinion that this argument by Mr. Owen had a potent influence in producing the proclamation.

Washington Correspondence of The Times.

As there is much inquiry in regard to the position of the different members of the Cabinet on the emancipation proclamation, it is proper to state that, at a Cabinet meeting on Tuesday the question of its approval was not submitted by the President, he having made up his mind to the act, and being desirous only of consultation on two or three of its clauses; but it is known that Secretary Chase has from the first been a most decided advocate of the measure, in which he has been moderately sustained by Secretaries Welles and Bates. Secretary Stanton has long favored any measure that will strike slavery, though not specially advocating this proclamation. Secretary Blair continued bitter in his opposition to the last, as of late was Secretary Smith. Secretary Seward has all along been known to be unfavorable to the act, though not as outspoken in his opposition as Secretary Blair.

Recent advices from a *Times*' special correspondent, who has had extended opportunities to converse with the residents of Fairfax, Loudon, Prince William and Fauquier Counties, Virginia, in regard to the recent emancipation proclamation of President Lincoln, are to the effect that the slaveholders in the above-named Counties manifest remarkable indifference to the prospect of emancipation; that the proclamation creates no excitement whatever, it being what prominent secessionists and those most interested have long expected. Instead of exasperating slaveholders, it has had the effect of compelling them to realize that at last the government is in earnest about crushing the rebellion.

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A letter from Newport to the Providence *Journal* contains the following statement:

"A letter received to town within a few days, from a gentleman of highest character and standing in Louisiana, if published, would be fully conclusive as to the policy and foresight of the proclamation. This gentleman states it as a fact that the intention of the traitors is to emancipate and arm, if not the whole, at least 400,000 blacks, and use them against the United States government with a determination to rule or ruin. This has been for some time reported as probable, but the source from whence this comes renders it no longer doubtful."

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THE REBELS INCITING THE INDIANS TO REBELLION.—At a recent council of the Menomonee Indians, held at Kisheua, Wisconsin, some remarkable statements were made. One of the chiefs (Meh-chil-ke-nilo) said that Dandy, the chief of the Winnebagoes, had told him that a blow was to be struck this summer at the white settlers, that he (Dandy) had communicated with the secessionists of the South, and that all the tribes of the North-west were to rise this summer and make common cause with the rebels. He said futher, that if the Menomonees would join them, they would be protected by the South, but if they would not, the other tribes would make war on them and exterminate them. Several other chiefs followed with similar revelations of the conspiracy concocted against the whites at the instigation of the rebels. There was a general and gratifying expression of loyalty among the Menomonees at the meeting and a determination on the part of the chiefs to remain faithful to their treaty obligations and peaceable towards the whites.

# National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1862.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD No. 48 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 48 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

### THE RESPONSE.

Our loyal blood to-day leaps high
  And tingles in our veins;
"God bless the President!" we cry,
And lo! a sweet and grand reply
Comes echoing through the vaulted sky
  In full rejoicing strains.

From valley, hamlet, city, town,
  A glad response is poured:—
"God bless the President, and crown
His days with honor and renown,
And tread his foes like stubble down,
  Beneath that conquering word."

And where'er our bayonets gleam
  In valley, copse and fen,
By Mississippi's regal stream,
Where ships of war indignant steam,
Loyal and staunch in every beam,
  Comes up one glad "Amen!"

Nor these alone;—from fields of cane
  And rice-swamps dank and drear,
A solemn, sweet and low refrain,
A sob of joy mingled with pain,
A thrilling, glad, exulting strain,
  Comes rushing on my ear.

Thank God! the year of Jubilee
  Is dawning on our night.
Thrice honored of the Lord are we;
Let kings and prophets longed to be
Partakers of the joy we see,
  Yet "died without the sight."

Fitchburg, Mass., Sept. 21, 1862. CAROLINE A. MASON.

THE EDITOR OF THE STANDARD, after preparing the present number for the press, will leave the paper in care of a friend for a few weeks, while seeking the relaxation which long confinement to the duties of his post has made desirable, if not necessary. This announcement is made for the information of a class of correspondents whose favors must for a time be neglected.

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## *THE PROCLAMATION AND ITS ISSUES.*

THE lapse of a week has not modified the opinions and feelings with which we first heard of the President's Emancipation Proclamation. We rejoice that he has gone so far, while we regret that he had not gone a step farther and dated emancipation from the 25th of September, when the Sixty Days of warning expired, instead of extending the day of grace until the first of January. We still believe that he has complicated and not simplified the practical workings of his great measure by this reprieve to slavery. Not that we apprehend that the slaveholders will avail themselves of his offered mercy and return like repentant prodigals, saying that they have sinned before Heaven and in his sight. Their spirit is not broken to that extent yet. There is nothing in their state of mind, as far as it can be gathered from their newspapers and Congressional speeches, and nothing in the state of their affairs, that should compel them to such a humiliation. We see that they claim the battles in Maryland as their victories, as we said last week they would. They did defeat us of our design to capture or destroy their army, and they succeeded in carrying out their design of a successful retreat across the Potomac. And they now stand looking at our forces across that river quite as audaciously and hopefully as they confronted them on its hither shore. Men who crossed into Maryland with a single tent—used to protect Gen. Lee's maps and papers—and without a single baggage-waggon, certainly are men in earnest and not likely to be easily discouraged. That they were doubtless ragged, barefooted and pediculous, we may well believe, but that they kept their powder dry and their arms in good order, and that they had abundance of both, we know to our grievous cost. Such men and their leaders will not listen to the charming of the President, charm he never so wisely, in any state of affairs likely to exist within the next three months. They, undoubtedly, regard themselves as more than a match for our Generals and our armies, and it is the bitterest part of our humiliation that we cannot brand such an opinion as palpably and ridiculously false.

We presume that the President was rather moved to that extension of their time of penitence by a feeling that every shadow of excuse should be taken from the rebels before he resorted to the final argument of emancipation, than by any serious expectation that they would avail themselves of it. We are sorry that he did not regard the time past of two months, since he first called them to repentance, as sufficient for their warning and reproof. The declaration of Immediate and Universal Emancipation in the rebellious States would have created no more consternation and wrath among the rebels, and among their friends and allies among ourselves, than the qualified and contingent one which he has put forth. And it would have given the nation a distinct and unmistakable policy at this moment, to inspire the action of the three next most momentous months. The delay gives an occasion for slackness in the field to Generals whose hearts may not be in the execution of such a policy, and abundant time for the scarcely concealed traitors at home to lay their plots and work out their privy conspiracies. The elections now imminent will be contested on this very question, and the Secession party at the North will be stimulated to the utmost by the belief that their success will paralyze the strong arm of the government and compel it to drop the only weapon effectual for its salvation. It is true that the friends of the government will, or should, be moved to corresponding exertions to defeat these traitorous machinations, and we hope that, in case of the worst, the President would not be moved from the noble purpose he has enunciated. But the advantage which this delay of three months gives to the rebels and their party here is immense, and unquestionably it will be pushed to the utmost to give a malign aspect to the approaching elections. Had the action been instantaneous and decided we think their chances of a mischievous success would have been greatly less. But we accept the President's measure as an admirable and beneficial though not a perfect one, and we thank God that his heart has been enlightened and strengthened to such a point of courage and wisdom. And should the North rally around him, as we hope it will, and as we believe it will, if the Republican party have but the common instincts of self-preservation, we may see reason to believe this excess of tenderness towards the rebels overruled for their more utter and open confusion.

The cry of all the secession sympathizers at the North is that the proclamation is a mere *brutum fulmen*, a peal of thunder armed with no lightnings, and that it will be ridiculously a failure. And this it will be, of course, unless it be launched at the head of slavery with a strong and a skilful hand. It certainly will not execute itself. The President must provide himself with instruments fit and willing to carry into effect the grand deliverance he has indicated for the nation. Happily, such exist and are ready at his hand. And, indeed, there is no need of waiting for the coming of the New Year for a practical application of the policy of emancipation. By his incorporation of the Confiscation Acts of Congress in his proclamation, and his injunction upon all his Generals and other officers to obey and execute them, he has in effect emancipated the slaves of the rebellious territory into which our armies must soon advance. It is not to be supposed that any General will set at defiance the laws of the land and the commands of his superior officer, by refusing or neglecting to obey them. If such there are, they should be superseded by better soldiers and truer patriots—of whom the occasions of this war have developed a noble company. But we cannot anticipate that there will be any failure of obedience to these orders when our army advances into Virginia. This is a measure which must be taken before the expiration of the appointed three months. Another winter's siege of Washington and a second blockade of the Potomac will hardly be submitted to by the people, after the revelations of the gratuitous indignities to which they were subjected last year. If Richmond be not in our possession by New Year's Day, we must look for the inevitable recognition of the Confederacy by England and France, and perhaps by all the great Powers of Europe in conjunction. This action of the President will, doubtless, delay such an opening of the door to our rebels into the family of nations, but it will only do so in view of a clear intention of practically carrying it into effect. Should such a purpose be not manifest, one not to be gainsaid or denied, the proclamation will have been worse than inoperative as far as Europe is concerned. It will only have given a fresh sting to the contempt to which our vacillating policy has exposed us.

What the country now has a right to claim of the President is that he take the necessary steps to make his proclamation effectual—as to the whole rebel territory after the first of January, and as to such portions as are now, or shall be, occupied by our armies, before that time. Gen. Butler may well be relieved from being the jailer and scourger of the slaves of New Orleans. We do not believe that that officer has been the willing co-worker with slavery which he has thought his military position compelled him to be. What is to hinder him from sending a force of black men, supported by white, if advisable, into the thickest of the black belt of Louisiana, and thus opening a fire in the rear, sure to distract the van of the rebel army? And that at once, without waiting for the New Year? Gov. Stanley may surely be excused from his one occupation of protecting and feeding rebels, and our brave Northern regiments cleared of the disgrace of being his slave police. And whenever an advance shall be made on Richmond the least that the President can in consistency do will be, to put it into the hands of men who would carry out the last half of his proclamation as they went along, and the first half after they arrived there, and the iron tongue of midnight had told twelve on the night of the next thirty-first of December. And there is a duty the country will demand of the President at the North, as well as that incumbent upon him at the South. If he wish to carry this great measure triumphantly through to a happy issue, he must not be negligent as to traitors at home while he is faithful as to rebels in the field. We do not believe that this malignant class is a very numerous one, but it is a very insolent and a very noisy one. It is blatant in all our cities, and spits forth its venom through venal and profligate presses. Open treason is even now talked and printed, and its venom will grow more virulent and be more actively diffused as time goes on. The President was fully sustained by the loyal population of the North in his suppression of treasonable papers and his arrest of treasonable persons, at the beginning of the war. He has now inaugurated a new policy of dealing with the enemy, and any attempt to weaken or disappoint it deserves no less prompt and severe repression than the acts of treasonable misprision he has already checked by the strong hand. He has already suspended the *habeas corpus* Act and made all such cases subject to the action of martial law. We believe he could do no more popular act than to arrest the notorious partisans of the enemy and to suppress the treasonable prints which are pandering to their designs. To save the country he must use strong and severe measures, and the country will thank him for it. If he is not bold and resolute in his action now, he will fail ingloriously in his attempt to make us a united nation. Wise in counsel and prompt in action, he may write his name upon our history, more truly even than did Washington, as the Father of his Country, and the true Establisher of her liberties.

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THEY FEAR THE LOSS OF THEIR SLAVES.—When the rebellion first broke out, the Northern sympathizers with the South insisted that the slaves were so happy and so strongly attached to their masters that they would not forsake them, even in prospect of obtaining their liberty. The slaveholders have made the same boast for years, whenever the rightfulness of their system was challenged. The experiences of the war, however, have taught another lesson, viz.: that the slaves are everywhere eager to make their way within the Union lines, and that not even the meanness and cruelty of many of the army officers have availed to obliterate from their minds the impression that their condition would be improved if they could only escape to the camps of the Yankees. The following paragraph from the Richmond (Va.) *Dispatch*, of Sept. 27th, shows that the rebels feel the need of special legislation to keep their slaves from contact with the armies of the North. It reveals also the weak point of the South, showing us how and where we may strike the most powerful blows:

"The Federal invasion, especially in its relations to negroes, has thus far been a John Brown raid on a grand scale. Wherever the Federal armies have advanced the negroes have been swept off as clean as the Eastern locusts sweep a field of grain. Not one green or black thing is left in the line of the Yankee march, nor in the whole country for many miles around. The Piedmont, the upper valley, the peninsula, the country watered by the Rappahannock and the Potomac, have been stripped of their negro population. This war has assumed the character of a grand negro-hunting expedition. Of victories the Yankees have gained few—negroes many. What becomes of the game, it is impossible to say, nor is that a matter of much consequence. The loss, however, of so valuable an element of strength and prosperity is a matter of such moment that the Legislature of the State ought at once to take measures for the prevention of similar calamities in the future. This can only be done by a law providing for the removal of negroes from all the threatened districts to the interior. It will not do to leave this to the discretion or judgment of the masters. In some cases they are too indolent to take the proper precautions for the security of their property; in others they are deluded by implicit confidence in the fidelity of their servants; and, notwithstanding the experience which the war has furnished that the neighborhood of a Yankee army creates as complete a stampede among negroes as the approach of a locomotive among cattle, there are thousands of masters who continue to believe that their servants will not run under similar temptations, and foolishly to expose them to temptation. It is clear, therefore, that there is no security for the negro property of the State unless the Legislature makes the removal of the negroes from districts exposed to invasion compulsory. We trust the necessary action will be taken promptly, for the State has already suffered enormous losses from this cause, which, by precautionary legislation, might all have been prevented."

CONFLICTING TESTIMONY.—REV. T. L. Cuyler, in a letter copied on our fourth page, affirms his belief that the Emperor of France is friendly to the Northern cause. We have great confidence in Mr. Cuyler's opinion, knowing as we do that he has had access to important sources of information; still, it is only right to say that the testimony on this point is conflicting. The St. Petersburg correspondent of *The Herald*, for example, says:

"The speech of Cassius M. Clay, your former representative at this Court, was read here with interest, although we do not agree with him respecting the friendly dispositions of Napoleon III. towards the Union. *We know positively that he had made overtures to our government, with the tacit approval of England, for a joint intervention on the basis of the recognition of the Southern Confederacy*, which were politely declined by Prince Gortchacoff. If I am rightly informed, the negotiations have been quite broken off, and the two Cabinets are endeavoring to hit upon some *mezzo-termine*, by which they could offer their mediation *without compromising themselves* at the outset by an evidence of partiality for one or the other party."

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LAMENTABLE SUICIDE.—Rev. Abram L. Pryne, of Williamson, Wayne County, N. Y., widely known as an anti-slavery preacher and editor, committed suicide at his residence on the 23d ult. He had been deranged for several days from feeble health, and while in this state committed the deed. He was the man who debated the slavery question with Parson Brownlow, some years since, in Philadelphia. He was a man of more than ordinary ability, but somewhat erratic.

## *THE PROCLAMATION IN THE ARMY.*

THE enemies of the Emancipation policy, aided by the pro-slavery Generals in command, have exerted themselves from the first to excite and exasperate the minds of the soldiers in opposition to that policy. They have sought to inflame the vulgar prejudice against the negro, deeming this a safe and effectual mode of giving aid and comfort to the rebels. They have so far plumed themselves upon their success in these efforts as to boast that if the President should venture to strike directly at slavery, the army officers would resign and the soldiers lay down their arms in indignation and disgust. It has been supposed, we will not say with how much justice, that the President hesitated to adopt an anti-slavery policy, from the fear that these predictions might prove true.

Under such circumstances, it is natural to watch the effect on the army of the President's proclamation. We therefore copy the following from the correspondence of the New York *Times*:

"BALTIMORE, Saturday, Sept. 27, 1862.

The army while waiting are busily discussing the extent of the late victory, the merits of Gen. McClellan, and the recent emancipation proclamation of the President. The same difference of opinion exists among our soldiers upon these questions as at home, though there is more apparent unanimity of sentiment in reference to Gen. McClellan than elsewhere; notwithstanding, some officers do not hesitate to declare very loudly against him, and even to deny the reality of our success at Antietam, which is, by the way, scoffed at by the secessionists of Baltimore, who regard Lee's retreat across the Potomac as part of the programme, and are gleeful over the loss inflicted by him upon our army.

The emancipation proclamation is discussed *pro* and *con*, in the army, opinion seeming to incline towards its endorsement. Some, however, are very bitter against it. I heard an officer of the regular army, holding a staff appointment, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, declaring his intention to resign in consequence. In this case, a feeling, apart from the question as to the expediency of the measure, seemed to predominate; and the officer referred to, who I am bound to say is both a soldier and a gentleman, expressed his repugnance to engage in what he regarded as a political warfare. Most of our troops, however, seem to concern themselves only with the question: '*Cui bono?*' Harsh experience has destroyed in them all feeling of sentiment in regard to the negro, and they only wish to know how he can be put to service in the suppression of the rebellion, of whose pertinacious resistance they are heartily sick. Many of them are sceptical in regard to the practical value of the proclamation, for they have heard somewhere of an old receipt for cooking a hare, which commences: '*First catch your hare.*' They would like to see the negro caught first, if possible, and then they are not likely to be over nice as to rebellious feelings in regard to chattel property. Apart from those who oppose the proclamation in toto, and the larger class of doubters who don't know exactly what to think, there is a numerous class in the army, as in the community, who regard it with unqualified approbation. It is to stimulate recruiting, say they; it will lead to a more vigorous prosecution of the war, and to the suppression of the rebellion before the coming first of January, when the negro jubilee is to be proclaimed."

The Boston *Journal*, one of the most conservative papers in all the country, thus expresses and supports its opinions on this subject:

"The evidence is abundant, and we think conclusive, that the soldiers belonging to the old regiments who have been longest in the field, and who, from observation and experience, have learned to estimate the strength which slavery has given to the rebels, are in favor of emancipating the slaves upon military grounds. We have found this evidence in many soldiers' letters, and we have before us some testimony upon the point which is worthy of attention. A friend in a neighboring State, who has been a pro-slavery Democrat, opposed to emancipation and to any interference with slavery, visited the army of the Potomac when it was on the Peninsula, in the capacity of Medical Commissioner. He was with the army several weeks, and had ample opportunities for observation. In one of his letters, written after his return, he expressed himself, much to our surprise, in favor of an emancipation policy. In answer to an inquiry how such a policy would be received by the army, he writes:

"'You may take it as a fact that with very few exceptions the *whole army* is in favor of the most stringent prosecution of the war, using every means in our power to stifle the rebellion, and it regards emancipation as one of our most potent weapons. Even among the officers of the old army, many of whom talked loudly of resigning, etc., if they were to be used as "nigger-stealers," there has been a great and most marked change in sentiment. I took some pains to satisfy myself as to the prevalent feeling upon that topic, and I am satisfied that the entire army would hail an emancipation proclamation with joy. Still more, I believe the army would be glad to know that every every rebel town captured was to be burned. I was a Democrat of the ultra stamp, and yet I earnestly believe that Fremont was right in his Boston speech, and that the army and the people are ready for emancipation, and a war of extermination if necessary to put down this rebellion. It is certain, unless this war forever settles the slavery question, we are ruined beyond salvation. The world, the country, the army and humanity demand it, and I believe all are up to that point. I heard scores of officers regret that Norfolk and Portsmouth were not burned, and many others expressed themselves as strongly upon the emancipation question.'

"These views are worthy of attention because they are the matured convictions of one who had no anti-slavery sympathies, and who, before he went to the Peninsula, had as strong a reverence for slavery and slave property as Vallandigham or any other of that school of Democrats. He had a large acquaintance among the officers of McClellan's army, and his opportunities for learning their opinions were ample.

"We doubt not that efforts will be made to sow the seeds of discord in the army; but we are confident that these will take root in none of the old regiments—among soldiers who have come in actual contact with slavery, and fully realize the strength which it gives to the rebellion. They who have seen the fields of the South cultivated by negroes, while every able-bodied white man was in arms—who have seen the negro in the trenches, and performing all the hard labor of the rebel camps, are not likely to entertain a superstitious reverence for property in slaves over any other property which supports the rebels. Our brave men have poured out their blood like water, and have seen the rebellion grow stronger and stronger. They have realized the fallacy of the idea that 20,000,000 of free whites can put down, without hard fighting, a rebellion of 5,000,000 of whites, backed up by the enforced labor of 4,000,000 of blacks. They and the dear ones at home will welcome any change of policy which will revive their waning hopes of a speedy termination of this war, with its frightful carnage."

The correspondent of *The Tribune*, writing from Sharpsburg, Md., Sept. 29, says:

"The proclamation of the President has electrified the army. The gloom and darkness of a long and terrible night has changed, and the shooting rays of a rising morn are seen. Since reading the earnest words of the President the soldier grasps his rifle with new energy, and when he shoulders or orders arms he performs like a man with a soul in his work. Legions have been added to our armies. The soldier has distinctly before him the object of the contest. Believing that thus the Union will be *permanently* restored, he now sees the beginning of the end."

The Washington correspondent of *The Times* writes:

"Gen. John A. McClernand is in the city with Gov. Yates of Illinois. He is very outspoken in his approbation of the President's proclamation against slavery, believing it to be a good thing and calculated to quiet public sentiment, as a large portion of the loyal people of the North desired some such declaration as a matter of principle, while the portion less loyal were constantly clamoring in anticipation of some such act, and picturing all sorts of horrors as inevitably to result. All know, he says, that the position must be taken sooner or later, and the sooner the better for the country. It cannot do harm at the South, as the people there always believed it would come at some time, and acted on that belief. It will greatly help us in England, by gratifying the anti-slavery sentiment of the English people, as distinguished from the English aristocracy. In his judgment, it is an eminently wise measure. These views are believed to be those of the Douglas party in the North."

A correspondent of *The Tribune* writes:

"The President's late proclamation is well received in Gen. Franklin's corps. I have heard Major-Generals, and there are several in the corps, speak well of it, and think it not any too severe for the times. One of these Generals has not been, and I am not aware that he is now, an admirer of the political principles of the President, but he said to-day that he was in favor of anything and everything that would in the least tend to crush this rebellion."

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BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE for September has been published by L. Scott & Co., 79 Fulton street. We give the table of contents: Watering-Places; Shiraz to Bushire; Caxtoniana, Part VIII.; Chronicles of Carlingford, Part VIII.; President Jefferson Davis; Pictures British and Foreign—International Exhibition; Trollope's North America.

The spirit of Blackwood being that of unmitigated Toryism, we are not surprised to find it in full sympathy with the slaveholders' rebellion and in love with Jeff. Davis.

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ERROR IN THE PROCLAMATION.—There was an important error in the President's emancipation proclamation, as transmitted by telegraph, and published by us last week. It occurs in the following passage:

"The fact that any State or people thereof shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State and the people thereof *have not been* in rebellion against the United States."

In the official copy, published in *The National Intelligencer*, the words above italicised, "have not been," read *are not then*.

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# Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 29, 1862.

IT is not my fault that the last STANDARD had not a token from Pennsylvania of our joy at the President's proclamation. I dispatched a letter to you in due season, but owing to some miscarriage of the post, as it appears, it did not reach you in time for publication. I was sorry for this, as I had a desire to be among the first of your correspondents to greet the long-looked for document with a hearty All hail. But perhaps it is best as it is, for it was only part of my letter—the postscript—that was properly pertinent to the occasion. The body of it had been written before the appearance of the proclamation, and was strongly tinged with the feeling which till that event pervaded the public mind. What that feeling was I need hardly state. It was a mixture of despondency and impatience, of mortification and anger, of hope deferred and expectation utterly disappointed. The invasion of Maryland, the occupation of Frederick, the approach to the borders of Pennsylvania, deeply humiliating as these facts were, were welcomed with a sort of sullen satisfaction, in the belief that they would rouse the government, or those who control it, to the action necessary to save the country. But when it was found that this effect did not follow, and that our immediate peril was passing away without the looked-for edict, the people's hearts began to sink within them. That is, the hearts of some of the people; for many, and perhaps a majority, were seized with a different mood. Anger took the place of dejection, and people began to ask with burning cheeks and flashing eyes what it all meant. It was not McClellan now, nor Pope, nor McDowell, nor any General in the field, that was blamed for our reverses; it was not Stanton, nor Seward, nor any Secretary in the Cabinet, it was the President himself that was held responsible for the embarrassments of the country, and on his head were visited the bitterest animadversions. "Have we a man or a stick at the head of our government?" it was indignantly asked. "Is it imbecility or incompetency, timidity or obstinacy, that holds him back? or is it an absurd excess of caution that for fear of *imaginary* evils allows him to sit still and see the country ruined with *real* ones? If it be the 'will of Providence' he is waiting to have made known, what better evidence of what that will is does he want than that which he now has? Does he expect to hear an audible voice from heaven? The age of miracles is past. Is it the will of the people he is waiting to have indicated? What can be clearer than that the people, *who are the people*, not only desire but imperatively demand that the war shall be ended by the destruction of its cause? Our government is not an absolute, it is a representative democracy, and the vote stands on record which justifies, if it does not imperatively call for, an edict of emancipation."

These were the questions and this was the talk of the people one week ago, and such was the state of mind in which they went to bed on Monday night, the 22d inst. Their hope of anything effectual from the President was almost gone. Not entirely, for it had been confidently asserted, and with some show of reason, that "the end of the sixty days" would bring a proclamation of freedom, but the hope in this case was not equal to the fear; and the fear, it should be added, as matter of history, had in it more of anger than alarm. For the determination was quietly forming, that if Mr. Lincoln would not help he would not be allowed to hinder in this matter. Not that any violent purpose of revolution was conceived, but the people knew their rights and understood their resources under the wise checks and balances and elastic framework of our government, and were determined that no inertia of the President should be allowed to thwart the popular will.

Happily the next day brought the hoped for solution of all the difficulties. The "sixty days" were ended, and the wings of the morning brought a rescript of freedom. At once every murmur was hushed, and distrust and impatience were put in abeyance. All the sins of the President, real or imaginary, were forgiven, and everywhere among loyal people rose from heart to lip the invocation, "God bless Abraham Lincoln!"

The proclamation is not the perfection of wisdom, but it is the great event of the century on this continent. In the manner of its coming it is not imposing, but viewed in the light of its consequences, it is sublime. It is an authoritative announcement of the doom of slavery, with the appointment of a day for the system's execution. It may, through a concurrence of circumstances, obtain a reprieve, but its sentence is on record and can't be annulled.

The President of the United States, in the exercise of his combined powers as Chief Magistrate of the Union and Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy, has promulgated to the world that all persons held as slaves in any State or designated part of a State that shall be found in rebellion on the first day of January, 1863, *shall be thenceforth and forever free*. The document is wide-sweeping and self-executing. Nothing can save the system but a contingency morally impossible. To suppose that South Carolina and Georgia, Alabama and Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas and Arkansas will instantly lay down their arms and sue for peace, is to suppose that pride and hate and every fierce passion in the intensest activity will suddenly be made subject to a doubtful sense of interest at the command of an enemy. To suppose, on the other hand, that President Lincoln can be induced, by the persuasion of false friends or the intimidation of open enemies, to recede from the position to which he is so solemnly committed, would be to charge him with a weakness on his part which his worst enemies have never ascribed to him, and to hint a course of conduct which would be a virtual resignation of his office.

There is another contingency not out of the range of probability, from which, were it to happen, there might be more reason for fear. I mean that of a combination of leading European powers to offer to mediate and arrange terms of settlement. There are people of influence, both at the North and at the South, who are and always have been ready for a compromise. There might be a conjunction of affairs in which the counsels of this class would obtain ascendancy, and by means of which, terms of peace, including a respite to slavery, might be made mutually acceptable to leaders. But this, though possible, is by no means probable. Great events are on the march. The fullness of time has come. The din of war and the excitement of passion afford no opportunity to timid negotiators. The exactions of slavery and the demands of freedom are in deadly conflict with each other, and the triumph of the one or the other is the only thing that can end the contest.

The truth is—and why should we not make ourselves happy in accepting it?—the days of slavery are numbered. A fixed period has been assigned to its existence. It may survive for awhile the date appointed, but not as a system. Its trunk, with its heart and all its vital organs, will be gone; its lingering extremities must soon follow.

The proclamation announces the President's purpose to renew at the opening of Congress his proposition for the "gradual abolishment" of slavery. This fact, with that of his demand on the army for the faithful execution of the anti-slavery war orders adopted by Congress at its late session, together with all the rest of the document, indicates a foregone conclusion on the part of the government, that the whole slavery nuisance must be swept out of existence.

Thus understanding it, the public already inhale the breath of a new life. They feel a load taken off their spirits. They see the goal toward which they are running—the prize for which they are fighting. They are ready now for any sacrifices which the exigencies of the country may demand of them.

That the proclamation will effect any immediate change in the material aspects of the war is not to be expected. The advantages accruing from it will be mainly of a moral kind. The government has now a policy. This will consolidate its friends at home, and give it prestige abroad. It will impart unity to its counsels in the Cabinet and harmony to its struggles in the field. The effect on the enemy will be to drive him to desperation. He may fight more furiously, but it will be with less method. Desperation is an advantage in a single decisive battle, but fraught with calamity in an extended campaign.

As the war advances the effect of the proclamation upon the blacks will develop itself. What that effect will be, no one without the power to tear from futurity the veil that conceals it, can distinctly tell. That, in general, it will free the slaves—that it will deprive their masters of that element of strength—that it will add to the material resources of the Union; as also that it will revolutionize the social, industrial, and political system of one half of the country, and necessitate in that moiety the complete reconstruction of society, may confidently be stated without the gift of prophecy. For the rest we shall have to wait, content to know that the issue is in the hands of Him who doeth all things well, and who shapes every event to a beneficent purpose.

McClellan's reinstatement at the head of the army, after Pope's fiasco, and under all the circumstances, meets with general acquiescence. His popularity with the army—which, whatever may be its cause, is an admitted fact—and his acknowledged superiority in certain important qualifications of a General, were ample justifications of the President in restoring him to his command. That he has improved under the teachings of adversity is evident from his measure of success in the brief campaign of Maryland. He fought the battle of Antietam with distinguished ability, but, with characteristic hesitation, he failed to improve its advantages.

As the enemy were fighting in large part for prestige abroad, the immediate favorable results of the campaign are with them; ultimately the results will be ours. At this moment, however, secession "stock" is probably higher in London and Paris than it has been since the beginning of the war. The Asia, which sailed on the 17th, would take out accounts of the till then successful invasion by the rebels of Maryland, of the capture of Harper's Ferry, with its enormous military stores and its immense number of prisoners, and of the threatened occupation of Pennsylvania. These facts, we may be sure, would lose none of their weight in the hands of Mason and Slidell and their skillful coadjutors. It would give them credit for new contracts, and fresh purchases of clothes, provisions, medicines, munitions, and all the necessaries of war.

The next steamer, that of the 20th, would take out a different story; not the story of the utter annihilation of the rebel army, nor that of its utter rout—which was the least that was expected of McClellan—but of their signal defeat, and compelled retirement to the southern bank of the Potomac. This, with the news of the proclamation which has followed, will in due time put an entirely different aspect on the whole question in foreign circles, or mark the beginning of the end of the rebels' power to injure us through the nations of Europe.

I want to say a word about Pennsylvania before I close. Not from State pride—this is no time for that weakness—but as a matter of justice. Pennsylvania has done well. Gov. Curtin has done well. He has acted with spirit and judgment, and all classes agree in awarding him the highest credit. The people have done well. Their response to the Governor's call, enabling him to extemporize an army of 75,000 men and throw them on the threatened border, was greatly to their praise; especially when it is considered that the State had already contributed 150,000 of her sons to the general army. Pennsylvania, like all the other free States, has done well. M.

## Our Washington Correspondence.

Washington, September 28, 1862.

When I wrote last week I did not consider an emancipation proclamation among the probabilities of the then forthcoming week. I was aware that the President had once prepared a proclamation and that Mr. Seward had persuaded him to postpone issuing it temporarily, but the reply of the President to the Chicago delegation of clergymen who presented an emancipation memorial was far from encouraging. The interview has since been widely published by the pro-slavery journals, and the account certainly reads queerly as a commentary upon the proclamation itself. Upon looking it over I cannot resist the conviction that one fortnight ago (one week before the day the proclamation was submitted to the Cabinet in extraordinary session) Mr. Lincoln was entirely undecided whether to issue it or not, and in fact was somewhat opposed to doing anything of the kind. The drift of his conversation with the Chicago clergymen was certainly against emancipation by proclamation. The prominent members of it went away somewhat discouraged. Their surprise was great a week later upon finding the document they asked for in the morning papers. Undoubtedly the proclamation was issued just when it was because of the success of McClellan in driving the rebels across the Potomac. Mr. Seward's objection to the proclamation three or four weeks ago was, that even the slaves would laugh at us, and it was a just criticism. The proclamation should have been issued while we were winning brilliant victories over the rebels, or if issued at any other time it should have been positive, offering freedom absolutely to all slaves who would flock to our standard. For one I am not going to be hypercritical and find fault without reason with the step the President has taken. It is a magnificent stride towards emancipation—towards absolute justice. But our enemies are watching with sharp eyes to see what the results of the proclamation will be. *The Intelligencer* of this city already jeeringly says that if the Abolitionists are correct the slaves of the South will now rush to the Union Generals, and will embarrass the rebel government by their insurrectionary conduct. It is well to remind these critics that the President has *not* issued a proclamation of emancipation. Everything is conditional as yet. South Carolina even may kick the whole thing over within her boundaries by sending a so-called loyal delegation to Congress some time in December. Any man of ordinary intelligence can see the difference between doing what has been done and issuing an absolute proclamation of emancipation. What if the President were to call upon every slave in the South to strike for his own freedom and the nation's safety at one and the same time, promising to every slave in the land his freedom—would not the effect be far different, far more decided than we have a right to expect from the conditional proclamation?

Then, again, a great deal depends upon the way in which the President enforces his proclamation. Let him compel his Generals to carry it out and all will be well. But if he wavers, lacks vigor, permits men who hate him and the proclamation to govern in the rebel States (wherever his troops have got a foothold), then the proclamation will fall to the ground ineffective and inoperative. And then be sure that the whole pack of pro-slavery hounds will be on our track barking most vigorously. "See what your paper proclamation has done! It hasn't freed a slave, but has roused the rebel States to still greater exertions!"

These considerations perhaps have more weight in this latitude than with you. We have a great many pro-slavery men here who predict nothing but failure as a result of the proclamation, and who will make all possible capital against anti-slavery men out of a failure. The Border State influence is felt here, but for the time it is not in the ascendant at the White House. I do not know as it is any worse, however, to deal with than the pro-slavery Democracy with you.

So far as I can learn, the President stands fast and firm by his proclamation. He means to have it earnestly carried out. The Governors who were here on Friday congratulated him upon it—with the exception of Gov. Bradford, of Maryland, who does not have any faith in anti-slavery measures as tending to put an end to the rebellion and the war.

There is not a single member of the government who is deceived in reference to the position of the New York *Herald* towards the rebellion. Its pretensions of being loyal have not fooled anybody here. The President knows very well that the course of that journal is dictated by a desire to injure him and his government and to aid the rebels. I was very glad to learn, a few days ago, that Mr. Lincoln has never, for a single moment, been deceived by the praise of that treacherous sheet. He understands its course, and every member of the government does the same. There will, however, be no interference with it for the sake of free speech and a free press. This is right. Though *The Herald* has been continually calling for the suppression of *The Tribune*, *Post*, *Independent* and Standard, and it could not complain if its own medicine were forced down its own throat, yet it will be tolerated. Its "stop-thief" cry has not for a moment diverted the government and the public from the fact that it is itself *the thief*.

Nor is the government unaware of the fact that *The Herald* clique of politicians mean to break down the government and the war against the rebellion by the election of Mr. Seymour as Governor of the State of New-York. In this region his election would be taken as evidence that the Empire State is sick of the war and ready for compromise and separation. Precisely this interpretation will be put upon it here.

The pro-slavery journals are all attacking the Governors for their recent meeting at Altoona, to consult with each other in reference to the war and the way to raise troops. The charge has been made that some of the Governors made an attack upon Gen. McClellan. If they did it is nobody's business but their own, but the charge is false. *The Sunday Chronicle*, owned by Col. Forney, says:

"We happen to know from one of the Governors present at the meeting—a Governor, too, who is complimented by these journals for his defence of Gen. McClellan—that nothing was said or done that could be construed into an assault upon that officer. The Governors met for the purpose of perfecting a harmony of action among the different States in reference to the draft, to combine and consolidate the militia forces for the defense of the State, to arrange for the comfort of the wounded, and a vigorous prosecution of the war. The address to the President is the best evidence of the patriotism of their motives and the absence of any desire to embarrass and vex the Administration."

It administers the following just rebuke to the meddlesome fellows, who desire simply to embarrass the anti-slavery men of the country, even if the ruin of the nation and the success of the rebels be the consequence of their acts:

"We think it is time that the constant assaults upon the men who are doing so much to bring triumph to our arms should cease. We have had too many of these attempts to break down the Administration by making gods of stones for the people to worship—by raising false issues and distracting the people—by fomenting schism and sedition. The best and purest of our public men are not exempt from their calumnies. *In the past they were instruments of Davis and Breckinridge and the Democracy they represented*—now when the leaders of that Democracy drew the sword and attempted to ruin the republic, they became silent and insidious enemies of the cause. This assault upon the Governors is their last attempt, and we are glad to be enabled to deny the charges they bring against them in relation to Gen. McClellan."

One of the noisiest of the papers here in this matter is *The Evening Star*, which two or three years ago was a violent Breckinridge journal. The loyalty of its editor and proprietor cannot be suspected, but he hates an anti-slavery man quite as cordially as he does a rebel, and he feels that he is doing a good work whenever he says a severe thing against a New England Governor.

Everything is looking dull to-day, but a week hence all may be changed. I certainly hope that I may then have more to write about, if it is only good news.

Avon.

### *THE PRESIDENT COMMENDED.*

We presume that President Lincoln will be loaded down with grateful acknowledgments for his proclamation. Public bodies and private individuals will be testifying to him their thankful sense of what he has done. Certainly this will be the case if people should in this form give expression to their sentiments. We are led to make these remarks by the following proceedings, which have been sent to us for publication:

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, held in this city, on the 24th inst., James Mott, President of the Society, in the chair, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Resolved, That we hail with inexpressible satisfaction the proclamation of liberty just uttered by the President of the United States, and that, without qualifying our expression of joy by regrets that it had not appeared earlier, or that it is not more immediate and unconditional in its operation, we tender to him our sincerest thanks, and invoke upon his head Heaven's best blessings.

Resolved, That regarding slavery as the sole cause of the war and the direct curse of the country, and not doubting that the effect of the proclamation will be to put an early, and in the more Southern States, a fixed period to its existence, we cannot but regard the act as one of wise humanity, of enlightened patriotism and prudent statesmanship.

Ordered, That the Corresponding Secretary be requested to forward to the President a copy of these resolutions at his earliest convenience.

A. Kimber, Secretary *pro tem.*

Philadelphia, Sept. 24th, 1862.

PENNSYLVANIA ABOLITION SOCIETY.

At a stated meeting of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, etc., held in Clarkson Hall on Fifth day evening, the 25th inst., the following preamble and resolutions were adopted by an unanimous vote:

Resolved, That the grateful acknowledgments of this Society are hereby tendered to President Lincoln for this signal act of public justice and wise measure of statesmanship.

Resolved, That not only the thanks, but the hearty support of this Society, and all others who sympathize with it are due, and to the extent of their conscience and ability, should be given to the President in view of the embarrassing duties which the adoption of this measure may devolve upon him.

Resolved, That this Society, antedating in its origin the Revolution of 1776—holding its Charter from the State—including in its list of Presidents the names of Benjamin Franklin and Benjamin Rush—rejoices in the hope that the grand end for which it was founded is soon to be attained, and has pleasure in believing that the just and humane administration of President Lincoln will be the means, under Divine Providence, of contributing to this result.

Resolved, That the proclamation be entered upon our minutes, and that a copy of these resolutions be signed by the officers of the Society and forwarded to the President.

Dillwyn Parrish, President.

Joseph M. Truman, Secretary.

### *HELP THE CONTRABANDS.*

In ministering to the sufferings incident to this time of war, our anti-slavery friends should not overlook the contrabands who come under government protection. The recent military movements in Maryland and Virginia have largely added to the number near Washington and Fortress Monroe, and letters have been received in this city (Philadelphia) appealing for aid, in the way of clothing, etc. At Washington, says H. Hamlin (cousin of the Vice-President), President of the Association there, the number "has increased to 1,500, nearly double the number at any previous time." Three hundred arrived in one day "half naked and exhausted by a long journey. Our stock of clothing is *wholly used up* and we are in immediate and most pressing want for more." "For the present, the common thin clothing for working women will do very well. We have also a large number of children. We also need men's clothing, such as has been sent to Port Royal and other Southern places."

In another letter, he says, "E. M. Thomas went to Alexandria, a few days since, and found many hundreds of contrabands in a very bad condition. We have sent down a Committee to get facts to report to Gen. Wadsworth." "We do not aid the families of the men who work for the government, except temporarily, till the men get their pay."

A letter from W. G. Tyler gives quite a sad account of the contrabands at Hampton near Fortress Monroe, who, he says, are under treatment amounting almost to brutality; and a letter from L. C. Lockwood, the Superintendent of the Contrabands at Fortress Monroe, to E. C. Collins, under date of 16th inst. says:

"The boxes of clothing and medicines sent by your Society have arrived and are found to be very valuable. Mr. Green, one of our teachers (son of a missionary), is somewhat acquainted with medicine, and I have a smattering knowledge, and I think with the directions of the physicians as enclosed we shall be able to make good use of them. They are greatly needed. There is a physician appointed for the contrabands at the Fort and one for the colored camp recently come to Hampton, but there is still great neglect; there is so much of medical attendance to do."

"The clothing, made and unmade, is *very, very* acceptable and valuable. We only wish we had a hundred times as much. The old residents are quite well supplied, but the camp spoken of above is very, *very* destitute. It consists of women and children, and a few aged and infirm sick men. It is the residium of the contrabands belonging to McClellan's camp. It numbers 1,300 or 1,400. Then over at Norfolk there are between 2,000 and 3,000 men in government employ there."

"There is great need of dresses, plain stuff. Would it not be less expensive to appeal to the public for second-hand clothing?"

Whilst it is very proper that anti-slavery people should aid other classes of sufferers from this war, yet knowing that while others have nearly the entire community to sympathize with them, the contrabands' friends may be said to be few and far between—it becomes the friends of the colored people not to overlook them in this time of trial and suffering. Let Sewing Circles be organized—clothing made up and money collected for the relief of these distressed friends of ours, and forwarded to G. E. Baker or H. Hamlin at 371 Thirteenth street, Washington, D. C., or if for Fortress Monroe to L. C. Lockwood, Superintendent of Contrabands at Fortress Monroe, or they may be sent to Passmore Williamson, Southwest corner of Seventh and Arch streets, or to Joseph M. Truman, Jr., Northeast corner of Franklin and Willow streets, Philadelphia, who will duly forward the same.

Franklin.

Boston Fraternity Lectures.—The Fraternity Lectures in Boston will be opened on Tuesday evening next, at Tremont Temple, by Hon. Henry Wilson. The other lectures of the course will be delivered on successive Tuesday evenings by the persons named below:

Oct. 14.—Henry M. Dexter.
Oct. 21.—Robert Collyer.
Oct. 28.—Theodore Tilton.
Nov. 4.—Moncure D. Conway.
Nov. 11.—Anna E. Dickinson.
Nov. 18.—Henry Ward Beecher.
Nov. 25.—Owen Lovejoy.
Dec. 2.—B. Gratz Brown.
Dec. 9.—Wendell Phillips.
Dec. 16.—Ralph Waldo Emerson.
Dec. 23.—Jacob M. Manning.
Dec. 30.—George William Curtis.

The Continental Monthly for October contains the following articles: The Constitution as it is—the Union as it was—by C. S. Henry, LL.D.; Maccaroni and Canvas, by C. P. Leland; Sir John Suckling; London Fogs and London Poor; A Military Nation, by Charles G. Leland; Tom Winter's Story, by George W. Chapman; The White Hills in October, by C. M. Sedgwick; Eighteen Hundred and Sixty-two, by U. S. Johnson; Southern Hate of the North, by Horace Greeley; A Merchant's Story, by the author of "Among the Pines"; The Union, by Hon. Robert J. Walker; Our Wounded, by C. K. Tuckerman; A Southern Review, by Charles G. Leland; Was He Successful? by Richard B. Kimball; Literary Notices; Editor's Table. J. R. Gilmore, 532 Broadway.

## Chronicles of the War.

### Latest News.

Gen. McClellan has forwarded to Gen. Halleck a statement of the respective losses of the National and rebel armies in Maryland—the latter, of course, in a considerable measure based on conjecture. At South Mountain our loss was 443 killed, 1,806 wounded, and 76 missing—total, 2,325; at Antietam we had 2,010 killed, 9,416 wounded, and 1,043 missing—total, 12,469; in both battles, 14,794. From the best data attainable, Gen. McClellan concludes that the rebels lost in killed, wounded and missing at least 30,000 of their best troops. From the time our troops first encountered the enemy in Maryland until he was driven back into Virginia we captured 13 guns, 7 caissons, 9 limbers, 2 field-forges, 2 caisson-bodies, 39 colors, and 1 signal flag. Probably about 15,000 small arms have been collected. We have not lost a single gun or a color.

A *Times* special correspondent with the Army of the Potomac gives an account of several important reconnoissances into Virginia on Monday. Col. Farnsworth's brigade of cavalry, accompanied by two batteries, crossed the river below Shepherdstown, and reconnoitred the country for a distance of five or six miles toward Winchester—the result being the discovery that the enemy still holds his position near Winchester. A regiment of rebel cavalry was seen on the road from Shepherdstown to Martinsburg, but a collision did not take place. On the road to Winchester, a number of the enemy's wounded were taken prisoners and paroled.

The Washington *Star* of Monday says that two different corps, of 20,000 men each, left the fortifications on Sunday night, going in different directions. This is in accordance with information which has reached us from other sources. The rebel army had better look to its communications.

Gen. Halleck has issued a circular addressed to the Governors of States, recommending that all existing vacancies among the officers be filled immediately by the promotion of officers, non-commissioned officers and privates who have distinguished themselves in the field, or who have shown a capacity for a military command.

Some sensation has been created by a Washington dispatch printed in the Philadelphia *Inquirer*, asserting that "it is rumored" that Peace Commissioners are on the way from Richmond to propose a settlement of the war on these terms: "The loyal States are to take all the Territories, Missouri, Tennessee, Kentucky and Maryland, and to make them free or slave States, as may best please them. The Cotton States are to be permitted to have a Congress of their own, to regulate their own domestic affairs only. In all other things to be again as one, and an inseparable people. For defensive and offensive operations against other countries, to be a unity. In all matters of postal and revenue service to be as heretofore. They pledging to return all government property to us as they found it. They, in addition to having us recognize their authority to have this Congress to regulate their peculiar institutions, are to be permitted Senators and Representatives in our Halls of Congress, but only in such numbers as their free white population is entitled to." Of course, this absurd story refutes itself.

### The Army and the Negroes.

Everywhere the American General receives his most useful and reliable information from the Negro *who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom.*"—*Wm. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.*

From the South-west.—*Helena, Ark., Sept.* 20, 1862.—The fort back of the town is progressing. Negro laborers are employed upon it, and also as teamsters by the Quartermaster's department. They acquit themselves at these occupations. The policy of Gen. Steele is to employ the men, and let the slave-owners come and get the women and children. In some instances it is said that claimants have been aided by his authority with guards and teams to take the slaves when pointed out, and transport them beyond the lines, in the direction desired by the slave-catchers, which is virtually a rendition of fugitives to their masters—forbidden by law of Congress. This state of things is giving much dissatisfaction, and the return of Gen. Curtis is earnestly desired by many. His course was hardly up to the Confiscation Act, but was liberal and humane toward the colored people. It is said that none of this class can now obtain permission to go North, and the whole policy of the Commanding General is changed from what it was under Gen. Curtis. If so, there will be a breeze here on this subject, for some of our Northern regiments, from Wisconsin, Kansas, Minnesota and Iowa, will make an issue with the present military authority. The general feeling among intelligent and upright officers and men is, "Let the Confiscation Act be enforced."—*Tribune.*

Contraband Prisoners.—The N. Y. *Commercial Advertiser*, speaking of the 2,000 free or freed negroes taken prisoners at Harper's Ferry, and now made slaves of by the rebels, says: "The duty of our government is plain. It should either place all its 'captives of war' far beyond the reach of the rebels, or at once demand of Jeff. Davis that he pay as much respect to his black prisoners as he does to his white. It would be in vain to expect that the government would in good set terms inform the rebel authorities that they would retaliate in kind upon the persons of rebel prisoners, for any abuse inflicted upon these blacks. Of course we could not sell the 'butternuts.' There is no market for such goods, but we could treat them precisely as we know Jeff. Davis would act if the tables were turned."

Outrageous Conduct of Soldiers at Nashville.—We copy the following from the Nashville *Dispatch* of Sept. 16th:

"On Saturday night an immense crowd assembled at the theatre. All that part of the auditorium set apart for white people was crowded at an early hour, so that standing room could scarcely be obtained, when a number of privates of the Tenth Ohio occupied the negro gallery. Before the first act was over, that part of the house also became crowded; and at the fall of the curtain some of the negroes left their seats and were passing through the crowd, when some soldiers seized them and knocked them down. In ten minutes every negro had been badly beaten and ejected from the house, some of them being thrown entirely down the stairs, from the top to the bottom. As the last one disappeared, quietness was again restored. No alarm was visible in the lower part of the house, and when the band had finished their performances, the curtain rose, and the play proceeded without interruption.

"Leaving the theatre, several members of the Tenth repaired to Smoky Row, where they soon came in contact with the Provost Guard. After considerable disturbance with them, they committed several depredations on houses in the neighborhood, which were finally brought to a close by a volley from the Guard, severely wounding one of the disturbers in the leg, and enabling the guard to arrest others.

"On Sunday morning the soldiers resumed their attacks upon the negroes—this time displaying their pugnacious propensities especially against those negroes dressed in Federal uniform. On the Square, Deputy Marshal Steele probably saved the life of a negro by advising him to take off his coat, when the soldiers around tore it to atoms, having previously knocked the negro down several times to make him take off his clothes. On Deadrick street they caught another negro in uniform, and literally stripped it off, leaving him to escape, well covered with bruises and only partially covered with rags. Another negro in uniform was caught on Gray street. At their request, he very wisely took off his military coat, when the soldiers tore it in shreds and threw it on the street. Two or three other cases occurred during the afternoon, but no material damage was done."

Valuable Information from a Negro.—The ram Queen of the West, with two transports, lately went on an expedition down the Mississippi, and experienced an encounter with the rebels at Prentiss, Miss., and at Bolivar with a rebel battery. On the downward trip, they were fired into at Prentiss, Miss., by a band of guerrillas with musketry. Two men on the latan were killed, two others mortally wounded, and six wounded who are likely to recover. Lieut.-Col. Lippincott, with 100 men of the 33d Illinois Infantry, went ashore and burned the town, except the jail and the house of a rebel captain, whom they expected to catch, but did not, by sparing his dwelling. The correspondent of *The Tribune* says: On their return up the river, just below Bolivar, Miss., an intelligent negro came to the Queen of the West in a skiff, and informed the officers, Surgeon James Roberts, and others, that there was a strong force of rebels at Bolivar, who were preparing to attack the Union ram and the transports from a masked battery just below Bolivar, at that place, and at a bend in the river just above the landing. The appearance of the negro was so intelligent and honest that his story was credited, and the crew of the Queen of the West, and the troops on the transports, who also had cannon on the bows of their boats, made ready to repel the attack. On their arrival near Bolivar, they discovered the rebels in the woods, and presently the battery opened fire upon them with grape, canister and musketry, killing two more men on the latan, one also on the Queen of the West, through her port hole, and wounding another. The boats immediately returned the fire, the Queen of the West, from her 18-pound guns planting a shell under the rebel battery, dismounting the guns, and killing several of the rebel gunners. Although the boats were near the shore, the musketry fire of the rebels injured no one. The fire on both sides lasted nearly half an hour, and continued for a distance of two miles.—*Tribune.*

*Corinth, Miss., Sept.* 17.—While at Iuka on this day, I saw a large body of contrabands, numbering about five thousand, of all ages, between one hundred years and three months, and various shades between sooty black and a brunette. These had all been slaves, who had fled from their bondage in Alabama, Georgia and this State. They were on their way to this place and thence northward to the land of promise and of freedom.—*Ib.*

The Funeral of a Slave.—*New Orleans, Sept.* 19.—On Tuesday, the 16th inst., I witnessed a funeral, formed of carriages, of nearly a quarter of a mile in length, attending to the grave the remains of the slave Sargy, believed to be at least one hundred and seventeen years of age. The mourners were mostly "quadroons," and as long as I have lived in Louisiana, this was the first time I had ever seen anything of the kind, and therefore the greater was my astonishment. In the first place, there was the evidence of substantial wealth connected with the cortége, that was of itself an incident, when the majority of the whites of New Orleans have a pinched and blockaded appearance. The hearse was finer, and the coffin more elegantly adorned, than I ever before saw at any funeral. But what attracted me most was the people themselves. Immediately behind the hearse followed some twenty well dressed negroes, who were, no doubt, slave servants of the deceased. Then came the mourners, shrouded and beclouded in black crape. Then followed the friends in that long line of carriages, largely composed of females, varying from the child of tender years to persons of most mature age. All were white—that is to say, a blue white—a cold, dark, icy hue seemed to be on most of the faces, for very few, indeed, had any color in their cheeks, such as enlivens the pure descendants of the Caucasian race. Their eyes were dark and sparkling, and owing to the prevailing fashions, there was a kind of oriental look about the whole affair, that reminded me of pictures and colors I have seen among the aristocratic people of Hindostan. There was one young girl, I suppose some fourteen years of age, that was remarkably beautiful, and seemed very much disposed to be admired; but the majority, I thought, wore an expression of contempt that was universal in its application, applying alike to Unionists and secessers. There were persons enough in this funeral alone to show that there was a large and not uninteresting world of people, peculiar to themselves, and presenting a social life such as the world has very little idea of out of a comparatively narrow circle which exists in the Crescent City.—*Cor. Times.*

Gen. Butler's Black Soldiers.—*New Orleans, Sept.* 19.—This evening I rode down to what is called the Judah Touro Building, a large, unfurnished edifice just on the suburbs of the lower part of the town, intended when finished to be a refuge for indigent women and children. The building is very large and very incomplete, but it is roofed in, and affords most excellent accommodations as a barracks. Here is to be witnessed a scene which of all others was least expected by the priests of rebellion. I allude to a regiment and more of free colored citizens, who daily go through company drills, and on each evening have a dress parade, at which twelve hundred stout men perform the duties of a soldier with an aptitude and precision that would do credit to men of whiter faces though not necessarily of braver hearts.

The first thing I noticed was the guard who paced in front of the square. His gun was an old single-barrelled fowling piece, without bayonet, and he was without belt or cartridge box, still he played the sentinel with becoming excellence and stopped us promptly, and without hesitation called for the "officer of the guard." A mulatto man, of rather light complexion, sword at the side, and wearing the shoulder straps of a Second Lieutenant, presented himself, and after some general questions said he would conduct us "to headquarters." I wound my way among the idlers, and numbers of squads, under the charge of drill sergeants, until I reached a small building on one side of the square, where, much to my surprise, I found Acting-Adjutant Thomas A. Sears, formerly of the Thirtieth Massachusetts Volunteers. He expressed much pleasure at meeting me, and I frankly confess that his face was bronzed darker than very many of the soldiers under his command. With Adjutant Sears I went through the entire building, and I was much surprised to see how comfortably 1,700 men had found themselves. I was informed that these native soldiers, as they are termed, manage with the ordinary rations to live better than do a majority of our soldiers. This is to be accounted for by the fact that a large number of these natives have been professional cooks, and from youth up had been compelled to take care of others as well as themselves. These free mulatto men learn the drill easily, and take great pride in the business. I saw some of the squads go through their exercises, and they deserve commendation. It was impossible for me to wait to see the regimental drill.

Beside the door of the main entrance of the building were posted up the names of the "Phelps Guards," one hundred strong. The list was made out by one of the Company, and was a fine specimen of penmanship. I took a peep into the prison and found some twenty delinquents, who, soldier-like, were whiling the time away playing cards. On the whole, in spite of a strange sensation at the novelty of what I witnessed, I was favorably impressed, and conscientiously believe that, with good officers, these men would do efficient service.

The *Chasseurs d'Afrique* as the men are fond of calling themselves, are at present dressed in the United States infantry uniform, with the cavalry hat. The Zouave dress should be adopted; at all events the red cap and tassel. The mulatto and negro do not need a broad brimmed hat to shade their faces, and it looks out of place and anomalous. Gen. Butler takes a great deal of interest in this body of men, and I think is anxiously waiting to know if they will be mustered into service. What course the government will pursue, I cannot say, but I think I could dispose of them both profitably and practically. I would send six hundred to Fort Jackson, three hundred to Fort St. Philip, six hundred to Fort Pickens, and the remainder, with two or three hundred more, should be the occupiers of Sumter and other Southern forts. History goes to show that the negro man is a good artillerist; in naval warfare they have always distinguished themselves, not only as active gunners, but fierce and determined boarders. On our gunboats now in front of the city the negro sailors are great favorites, and are equal to any in doing duty. Let our Southern forts thus be defended, having only a few white men as special guards, and white officers throughout. We should then be relieved of the sad destruction universally taking place among unacclimated white men doing military duty in the Southern forts. With such soldiers, we should neither fear an outside enemy or the more insidious foe, malarias, fevers and epidemics. The commanding officer of this regiment is Col. Stafford, I believe once attached to the New York Fire Zouaves, and Lieut.-Col. John A. Nelson, I believe of one of the New England regiments.—*Cor. Times.*

The First Case of Emancipation.—*Cincinnati, Sept.* 24.—I learn that to-day was disposed of the first case arising under the President's Emancipation Proclamation. Three negro "boys" were brought before Lieut.-Col. Sipes, Military Governor of the two towns of Covington and Newport yesterday morning, about 10 o'clock. (The President's proclamation was only published here in yesterday morning's papers). They were closely examined by Col. Sipes, and testified that they had escaped from Kirby Smith's army, where they were employed as servants. When asked if their masters were in the rebel army, they replied that their "*young* mas'rs" were. When asked where they were going, they said they "didn't know"—they "jest *run*." Col. Sipes remarked that, under the President's new proclamation, his duty was plain; and to-day they were provided with "free papers" in due form, and went into the world the "first-born" of the new order of things—happy triplets.—*Cor. Times.*

The following is the form of certificate issued by Col. Sipes to the slaves above alluded to:

Headquarters Military Commandant,
Covington and Newport, Ky., Sept. 23d, 1862.

Whereas, John, a colored man, aged 22 years, representing himself as having been a slave of Robert Barnham, in Henderson County, State of Tennessee, and impressed in the rebel army as a servant to Robert Barnham, on or about the 15th day of March, 1862, did escape from the aforesaid army when at Williamstown, Ky., and voluntarily came into the lines of the army of the United States, and surrender himself up to the same; I do, therefore, in obedience to the Acts of Congress, approved the 13th day of March, A.D. 1862 and the 17th day of July, A.D. 1862, and in compliance with the Proclamation of the President of the United States, dated the 22d day of September, A.D. 1862, declare the said John a free man, and entitled to protection as such.

Wm. B. Sipes, Lieut.-Col. Commanding.

### Various Items.

The Harper's Ferry Prisoners.—The prisoners paroled by the rebels at Harper's Ferry, numbering over eight thousand, passed near Annapolis Junction lately, on their way to Camp Parole, Annapolis. On the road some of the residents of Anne Arundel threw open their doors and prepared substantial meals for them, while a few refused to aid even the sick. These latter naturally suffered, the men taking off from the farms what they wanted, without offering any compensation, while those who cheerfully gave what they could afford were amply repaid by presents of money, etc., from such of the officers and men as were able to compensate them for their trouble. A letter from Camp Parole to the Boston *Traveller* makes complaint of the condition of the released prisoners as regards clothing and food.

President Taylor's Plantation.—The Montpelier (Vt.) *Journal* contains a letter from a soldier of the Vermont Eighth, dated Camp Allemands, Aug. 29, in which he states that on the previous Thursday, the property of Gen. Richard Taylor, a son of old Gen. Taylor (by whom it was bequeathed to him), was confiscated, the son being now in the rebel army. The slaves, one hundred and fifty in number, were all declared emancipated, while the plantation was plundered by the Union soldiers. According to the writer:

It is one of the most splendid plantations that I ever saw. There are on it seven hundred acres of sugar-cane, which must rot upon the ground if the government does not harvest it. I wish you could have seen the soldiers plunder this plantation. After the stock was driven off, the boys began by ordering the slaves to bring out everything there was to eat and drink. They brought out hundreds of bottles of wine, eggs, preserved figs and peaches, turkeys, chickens, and honey in any quantity.

I brought away a large camp-kettle and frying-pans that belonged to old Gen. Taylor, and also many of his private papers. I have one letter of his own handwriting, and many from Secretary Marcy; some from Gen. Scott, and some from the traitor Floyd. I brought to camp four bottles of claret wine. Lieut. —— brought away half a barrel of the best syrup from the sugar-house, and a large can of honey. The camp-kettle and pans I intend to send home. They are made of heavy tin covered with copper. I think I will send home the private papers by mail if I do not let any one have them. The camp is loaded down with plunder—all kinds of clothing, rings, watches, guns, pistols, swords and some of Gen. Taylor's old hats and coats, belts, swords, and, in fact, every old relic he had is worn about the camp. You and every one may be thankful that you are out of the reach of plundering armies. Here are whole families of women and children running in the woods—large plantations entirely deserted—nothing left except slaves too old to run away—all kinds of the best mahogany furniture broken in pieces. Nothing is respected.

Massachusetts in the War.—Massachusetts will have sent in all, under the different calls of the President, 80,460 men, as follows: 36 regiments of three years' men, 36,800; 19 regiments of nine months men, 19,000; number raised to fill up the old regiments, 7,000; other miscellaneous contributions, 2,700; 1 cavalry regiment, 1,200; 11 batteries, 1,760; enlisted in the navy, 12,000.

The Williamsburg *Times* has a letter from Washington which asserts that "Old Abe" still keeps up his spirits. The correspondent writes: "Are we going to be whipped to death?" asked an Ohio Congressman of the President, yesterday. "Whipped!" exclaimed the President, indignantly; "There is no such thing in the books—these Southern rascals will find themselves buried under the Southern avalanche sooner than you think, and like the boy who was struck by lightning, they won't know what ailed them. Never say whipped while there is a God in Israel." This the President said with much emphasis.

Hon. Andrew J. Hamilton, formerly in Congress from Texas, has escaped from the murderous despotism now cursing that unhappy region, and reached our city. He reports Unionism very strong in Western Texas, though overawed for the time by ruffianism. Colonel Hamilton, we understand, heartily approves of President Lincoln's proclamation of freedom, believing that it will prove the death-blow of the rebellion. He ought to be heard in our city, where no State is so little understood as Texas, while he must be able to throw a flood of light on its recent history. Shall he not be called out, and induced to speak where thousands can hear him?

The New Orleans correspondent of *The Times* says: The rumor that Gen. Butler was to be superseded has had the effect to call out the real sentiment of the people, and his most bitter enemies were among the first to express their regrets at the possibility of such an event. They all admit that since the General has been here, the police of the city has been perfect, that life was never safer, that on the whole justice has been administered on broad and liberal principles, and the most difficult people in the world to govern has been satisfied. If the remarkable administrative qualities possessed by Gen. Butler are needed nearer the National Capital, the people here would sacrifice their own feelings for the national welfare; but if this is not the case, then he should be left master and Military Commandant of New Orleans, the only thing gained to the glory of our cause, after a long year of disaster and defeat; for, startling as it may appear, if with our reverses on the Potomac, *we could not call the mouth of the Mississippi ours, we should be poor indeed.*"

We have the authority of a gentleman on Gen. Butler's staff for saying that Gen. Butler has already organized and equipped three regiments of loyal Louisianians—one of them white, and two not so white. He says that Gen. Butler will welcome the President's proclamation as a timely decree, and will pray for the 1st of January to come. Gen. Butler has revolutionized and reorganized what schools there are in New Orleans; has dismissed the rebel pedagogues, and sent for a cargo of Massachusetts school mistresses to give orthodox instruction to young New Orleans.—*Wash. Cor. Tribune.*

Florida.—I am informed by a gentleman high in the confidence of the Administration, that the President has had in contemplation for some time, and will shortly issue another highly important proclamation. It may therefore be expected at any moment. It will proclaim the State of Florida at once to be under the jurisdiction of the Federal government, inviting, at the same time, all free laborers from the North and West, white and black, to settle in said State, for the purpose of cultivating cotton. The President will guarantee them ample protection by both the army and navy. The State Constitution is to be set aside for the present, and the State reduced to a Territorial condition, and governed accordingly. It is said that this is only initiating a policy which is to be largely adopted hereafter, if it should prove successful. The President hopes by this means to make ample provision for the cultivation of cotton, not only for our domestic wants, but to supply foreign governments, thereby obviating the necessity for intervention.—*Wash. Cor. Herald.*

## Summary.

Hon. Charles Sumner says in a letter, that he was the first person to urge the President to make public proclamation of the Confiscation law, and regards the proclamation as being practically an edict of emancipation to all the slaves in the States.

Cassius M. Clay.—It is stated by very respectable authority that Gen. Cassius M. Clay will, after all, return to Russia. The reason assigned is his inability to agree with the Administration in regard to the conduct of the war. The statement gains in credibility from rumors which have for some time prevailed of Mr. Cameron's expected return on a visit.—*Wash. Cor. Times.*

Quakers in Virginia.—It is remarkable that a settlement of Quakers, near Mount Vernon, have continued unmolested during the entire war, though alternately included within National and rebel lines. Their semi-weekly meetings have been regularly continued; sometimes a rebel picket pacing in front of the building, and perhaps a Union sentinel having the same beat the next week. They have remained undisturbed both in property and person.—*Wash. Cor. Times.*

Kansas.—On the 17th inst., the Republican Convention at Topeka nominated Thomas Carney, of Leavenworth County, for Governor, and A. Carter Wilder, of the same County, for Congress. Mr. Carney is an earnest Republican, and has never yet been in public life. Mr. Wilder has been Chairman of the Republican Central Committee since the formation of that party, and represents the radical element. He is able and deserving, and has been actively engaged in the bygone struggles for freedom in Kansas.—*New York Tribune.*

Mr. Wilder is a native of Worcester County, where he has many friends glad to hear of his promotion.—*Mass. Spy.*

An Old Democrat on the Proclamation.—The following note from Gen. Busteed appears in *The Tribune*:

"'God bless Abraham Lincoln!'—*Tribune Editorial, September* 23, 1862.

"Amen, with all my heart. 'And let all the people say amen,' while humanity and religion take up the invocation and join in the supplicated good. God bless *The Tribune*, too, for its persistent and fearless denunciation of the monstrous wrong which has sapped the vitality and virtue of the union. Slavery is dead, and the republic lives! Lives a new life, graduated by the principles of God's eternal justice. The footfalls of advancing freedom throw their forward echoes upon the gladdened ears of liberty-loving men, and soon the imprints of her mighty tread will be discernible over and upon the prostrate and mortal remains of the haughty but doomed Slave Power. The American Republic henceforward is free in fact and in name. 'God bless Abraham Lincoln!'

"Yours for liberty, Richard Busteed.

"New York, September 23, 1862."

The Scheme for Colonizing the Southern States.—Hon. Eli Thayer's scheme for the colonization, by armed men, of the Southern States, meets with much favor from the President, Secretary of War, and the other Secretaries, has been discussed several times in the Cabinet meetings, and will probably soon receive formal official sanction. The project contemplates an expedition by 10,000 colonists, enlisted for six months, and supplied with transportation, subsistence, arms, and a General, by the government, whose business it shall be to "hold, occupy and possess the public lands of Florida, and other lands belonging to rebels, and seized under the law of the last session of Congress for the non-payment of the direct tax." Mr. Thayer promises, if allowed to carry out his plan in its entirety, to bring Florida into the Union as a free State by the 1st of February next. Texas and Virginia are already talked of as States to be subjected to the same process. This, like the proclamation of this morning, will be another step in the path of a more vigorous policy which the Administration in its proclamation of freedom advertised that it should henceforth pursue.—*Wash. Cor. Tribune.*

An Old Bible Captured from a Rebel in Battle.—Mr. H. Jallonack, of Syracuse, has exhibited to the editor of *The Journal* of that city a valuable relic—a Protestant Bible printed in German text two hundred and twenty-five years ago—the imprint bearing date 1637. The book is in an excellent state of preservation, the binding sound and substantial, and the fastening a brass clasp. The following receipt shows how the volume came in Mr. Jallonack's possession:

"New York, August 21, 1862.

"Received of Mr. H. Jallonack one hundred and fifty dollars for a copy of one of the first Protestant Bibles published in the Netherlands, 1637, with the Proclamation of the King of the Netherlands. This was taken from a descendant Hollander at the battle before Richmond, in the rebel service, by a private of the Irish Brigade.

"Joseph Heine, M.D., 4 Houston Street."

Mr. Henry B. Dawson, of Morrisania, Westchester County, announces his intention to publish shortly, in uniform size and style, the following works: First, a reprint of *The Federalist*, with biographical and historical introduction and notes, in the preparation of which Mr. Dawson states that he has had access to the family papers of Gen. Hamilton and Chief-Justice Jay; secondly, a reprint of *The Anti-Federalist*. Each of these reprints is to appear in two octavo volumes, *The Federalist* with newly engraved portraits of Jay and Hamilton, from original paintings, and *The Anti-Federalist* with portraits of Gov. George Clinton and of "Brutus," one of the essayists who contributed to that work.

Mr. Dawson also announces a "History of the Constitution of the United States, and of its Establishment between the Several States," with illustrative documents, "many of which have never been printed." These works are to be printed for subscribers only, at five dollars per volume.—*Eve. Post.*

Rebel Atrocities.—We do not make any wonderment at secession atrocities—least of all, of those in Arkansas. Slavery being barbarism, at all, the best, of times, begets the habits of barbarians—the fierce, unbridled sway of passions, the wearing of concealed weapons, and the constant readiness to make murderous assaults. Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Pinckney, and other Southern writers, drew, fifty years since, to the life, the effects of slaveholding on the character and habits of the community; and its results are now as then, only worse from the larger prevalence of the disease. At this moment, when civil war rages, we have, of course, more of the salient examples of the savagery of the slaveholders and their satellites, but they are no worse than those in time of peace. We require, accordingly, no publication of affidavits as given by the journals, to prove any and every species of murder at the hands of the secessionists. But, as matter of record, we may quote such affidavits as are contained in the Helena (Arkansas) *Shield*. For example: one old man testifies to hangings of two citizens by a mock Lynch body. A lawyer named Hall was condemned to be hung or run through by bayonets—but, by some oversight, was graciously not murdered. Dr. Davis and others boasted they had killed a Unionist, and showed his scalp pickled—"a white man's complete scalp of hair with ears attached to it," etc. A man sixty years old testifies to having been chained by the neck, with twenty-six others, and marched thus four days—the so treated party being "the best men in the County." Seventeen enlisted in the rebel ranks, the rest were incarcerated—and so forth.—*Tribune.*

The Commissioners of Emancipation are busily engaged in examining cases which involve the loyalty of claimants for compensation for slaves freed by the Emancipation act. The latest case is that of Mrs. Bibb, of Georgetown, D. C., widow of the late Judge Bibb, of this city, who claims compensation for five slaves. A number of witnesses have already been examined, without, however, establishing her loyalty. This will be the case with a great many of the claimants for compensation. We doubt if one-half the number of applicants will succeed in establishing their loyalty to the satisfaction of the Commission, which ought to, and no doubt will be very strict in that regard. It is a well-known fact that some of the most notorious rebels in this city, and the surrounding Counties in Maryland, have filed their claims before the Commissioners for compensation. In many cases the *bona fide* owners of slaves freed by the act are now engaged in rebellion against the government, but rely on their representatives and business agents here to obtain the compensation. The Commissioners will look out for these cases, and the compensation money, instead of finding its way into the pockets of rebels and traitors, will either be returned to the treasury or added to the fund appropriated for the colonization of such of the freed negroes as may choose to accept the offer of the government to emigrate to Liberia, Hayti, or any other country provided for their reception. Compensation is claimed for upwards of 3,000 slaves, which is a greater number than is shown by the last census to have been held in this District. Previous to the passage of the Emancipation Act a large number of the "likely" slaves were taken into Maryland, and their places supplied by old and decrepid ones, for whom their owners expected to receive the same compensation as for the young and healthy. They will be greatly disappointed, however, as *pro rata* values have been fixed upon all slaves for whom compensation is claimed. A gentleman from St. Mary's County, Md., who is a large slave-owner himself, informed us the other day that the prices allowed by the Commissioners for the emancipated negroes were higher than those which could be obtained in his section of the State for slaves sold on the block. So it appears the government pays more for "niggers" than the lovers of the institution themselves are willing to pay.—*Wash. Cor. Times.*

The Tables Turned.—The following letter, says a correspondent of *The Tribune*, was addressed to Anthony Pryor, one of the colored people at Fortress Monroe, by his late mistress. It is transcribed *verbatim et literatim*.

"Anthony: I have heard that you were making a great deal of money, and as we are in Williamsburg and have no support, & William [her husband] is away and I cannot hear from him I send you this to let you know that we are in need of everything I have no meat no money of any kind that will pass. I want you to send me some bacon & sugar and coffee and any other things you can get that I need. I have no money to buy a thing with. You have had twelve months freedom to make money in—it is time to do something for me and my children—they are in want of clothes and the winter is coming on if you do not send me some money they will perish with the cold for wood is very high and I am not able to buy any now to cook with. we have done all in our power for you until you left us and can you hear of your masters children starving and you able to work and help them no I cannot think it.

"I should like to see you if you can give me a little help every month it would keep us from want send what you can get for me by John King he will bring it *safe* he is doing all he can for his mistress he does not let them want for anything I never should sent you this if I had not been in want as you have not done anything for me all this time If you consider yourself free it is your duty to do what you can for me and my two little children I shall expect you to do all you can if John King does not come up soon you can send them by *Sam Simpkins he belongs* to Mrs. Eliza Jones tell him to bring them to *Mrs.* Tilford we are there now send them as soon as you can. from your Mistress

"Hannah D. Westwood.

"What has become of Lucy see her and tell her to send the children something I wrote this large so you could read it well."

What a comment upon the oft repeated statement that the slaves, if emancipated, couldn't take care of themselves!

### AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Collections by Parker Pillsbury.* | |
| Gardner, Mass., | 1 00 |
| Essex County Society Convention, | 3 28 |
| Nashua, N. H., | 4 21 |
| Milford, Mass., | 1 00 |
| Leominster, Mass., | 2 56 |
| Hanson, " | 3 00 |
| Walpole, " | 6 00 |
| Wrentham West, | 1 61 |
| Cummington Convention, | 9 17 |
| Springfield, | 7 50 |
| *Collections by E. H. Heywood.* | |
| E. Princeton, Mass., | 1 73 |
| Gardner and S. Gardner, | 3 20 |
| Hubbardston, | 3 02 |
| Princeton, | 69 |
| *Collections by Aaron M. Powell.* | |
| Red Rock, N. Y., | $0 42 |
| S. D. Grove, Red Rock, | 25 |
| West Ghent, | 11 |
| Milford, Mass., | 2 20 |
| Hopedale, " | 4 00 |
| E. H. and Anne Draper, | 3 80 |
| Tivoli, N. Y., | 50 |
| Chatham Four Corners, | 1 05 |
| Washington, | 1 08 |
| Milton, | 67 |
| New Britain, N. Y., | 2 27 |
| Red Rock, N. Y., | 70 |
| Mrs. Blinn, Red Rock, N. Y., | 25 |
| South Bend, N. Y., | 1 17 |
| A Friend, | 37 |
| *Receipts for Tracts by Anna Rice Powell* | |
| Mrs. Anna Brown, New York, | $1 00 |
| Peter Phillip, West Ghent, | 25 |
| Friends at Chatham, | 37 |
| Henry Kittle, | 10 |
| D. Phillip, | 10 |
| A Friend, | 15 |
| Small Sums, | 1 20 |

## Special Notices.

A stated meeting of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society will be held at Concord Hall, on Fifth day afternoon, the 9th inst., at 3½ o'clock.

G. M. S. P. Jones, Sec'y.

Andrew T. Foss, now in the State of Vermont, on behalf of the American and Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies, will lecture as follows:

WEST BROOKFIELD, Sunday, Oct. 5.
NORTHFIELD, Tuesday evening, Oct. 7.
WAITSFIELD, Thursday evening, Oct. 9.
WEST ROXBURY, Friday evening, Oct. 10.
BRAINTREE, Sunday, Oct. 12.
WEST RANDOLPH, Sunday evening, Oct. 12.
EAST BETHEL, Tuesday evening, Oct. 14.

## Advertisements.

$150. BEST PIANOS. $150.

GROVESTEEN & HALE, having removed to their new warerooms, No. 478 Broadway, are now prepared to offer the public a magnificent NEW SCALE full 7 octave rosewood piano forte, containing all improvements known in this country or Europe, overstrung bass, French grand action, harp pedal, full iron frame, for ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY DOLLARS CASH, WARRANTED for FIVE YEARS. Rich moulding cases, ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY FIVE to TWO HUNDRED DOLLARS, all warranted made of the best seasoned material, and to stand better than any sold for $400 or $500 by the old methods of manufacture. We invite the best judges to examine and try these new instruments, and we stand ready at all times to test them with any other manufactured in this country.

GROVESTEEN AND HALE, No. 478 Broadway, N. Y.

# Miscellaneous Department.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

## HALF-WAY.

The purple of the storm
Came mantling on the sun,
Came darkly on the summer earth,
Before the day was done.

The slumberous shade of storm,
The purple of the cloud,
Closed round the cabin of the slave,
A night, a pall, a shroud.

Withered and bent and old,
A woman by the door
Lifted her white head from her hands,
To hear the thunder roar.

A smile of holy trust
Upon her wrinkled face
Smoothed out awhile the heavy lines,
The grief-mark of her race.

The yellow lightning spears
Fell broken to the ground,
The lightning's crimson arrow-heads
Were dashing all around.

The fig tree o'er her hut
Stirred, as to summer air;
Then stood, a blackened skeleton,
A dead, dry ruin there.

But as the thunder crash
Rolled heavily and dread,
There was no tone of fear or doubt
In the calm words she said:

"If the next lightning-flash
Should miss my shattered tree,
And glancing through my empty hut,
Should do its work on me;

"Should fold my weary hands,
Should end my failing sight,
At once should send me on my way
Across the land of night;

"Though sudden it might be,
I would not shrink or care,
For e'er I had gone half the way,*
My Lord would meet me there.

"He knows my eyes are dim,
He knows my limbs are weak,
He will not miss me in the dark,
He'll not forget to speak.

"Lest I should lose the path
Along the lonesome vale,
He'll meet me half-way to my home
Lest I should faint or fail.

"Beneath the tree of life
My dwelling he will make,
Where thunders only speak His word,
Or into hymnings break."

The thunder rolled again—
It only seemed to her
The words of angels, welcoming
A fellow-worshipper.

St. Helena, S. C. ELLEN MURRAY.

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* The exact words of an old freed-woman of St. Helena, South Carolina.

## *STORY'S STATUES IN THE LONDON EXHIBITION.*

CLEOPATRA AND SYBILLA.

THERE is a little room in the Roman Department of the Great Exhibition through which a crowd is slowly and ceaselessly struggling. It is lined with statuary. But the people do not throng hither to see all these works, many of which are worthy of high praise, any more than they do to the case of gems near by to see the many stones that blaze there. The great white throbbing Koh-i-noor is what they there seek. Two statues only draw them hither. These stand, or sit rather, in the corners next the entrance—Cleopatra to the left—the Sybil to the right. Very calm, almost to indifference, they appear. Yet so strong is the power condensed into every feature, that once seen they are seen always. They have followed me through the miles of Art which London, Paris, and Munich display—through the grander forces of nature that here arise around me. Their eyes, though veiled, seem ever

"Looking through and through me,
Thoroughly to undo me."

They are not mere pieces of carved and polished stone, not even mere expressions of ordinary truth and beauty. Far deeper seems to lie their meaning and their influence. They are historic and prophetic—looking before and after. Cleopatra proves the possibility of that of which the Sybil asserts the necessity. Mr. Beecher complained in a late sermon that Art had not been inspired by the war—artists still fumbled away in poor imitations of poor originalities, while a grand opportunity for duty and glory was passing before them. But these marbles are inspired with far deeper passions than those that rule the present hour. They are wrought out under impressions which have not as yet reached the public mind, but are only shadowily dreamed and feared. Shall I sketch the preachers before I do their sermons?

They are both in a similar position and have a similar expression. They sit in a very easy posture, in ancient Egyptian chairs, and in the ancient Egyptian dress minutely elaborated. A finger of Cleopatra's hand is pressed against its palm—as though the artist was afraid she would appear lax and feeble in her voluptuousness, and through this device she could show the firmness of her nature. It seemed to me a defect. She should not appear to *intend* to express anything. Unconscious expression is the only powerful and true expression. She is full of this: for her whole bearing, though soft and dreamy, is full of vigor and force of character.

But it is not her form or posture that chiefly attract you. All the qualities embody and reveal themselves more clearly in the countenance. Thither all lines converge. The features are large, compared with the Grecian face of conventional art, but strikingly like those on Egyptian monuments. The lips and the eyes are full—the cheekbones high—forehead low—in fine, the cast of the countenance is decidedly African. Even the marbles seem to be discolored. According to ordinary standards, there is no beauty in them that we should desire them. Some ladies stood beside me gazing at them. "Beautiful, ar'n't they?" said one, as she had been taught by *The Times.* "Yes, very," replied the other; and then with a conscious revolt against its authority, and under the command of inward impulses, she adds, "But the faces are not handsome." The other assents, of course. That is the first impression. And that impression is increased by their position among a gallery full of Grecian faces. Jephtha's Daughter, Esther, Bryant's Indian Girl, all look not like Jewesses or Indians, but as if made to order by a Greek potter. These two beauties are evidently African, not Athenian. It would seem as if, having been created in seclusion, they are providentially placed among these popular models, and compel our admiration against our will, as the race they represent is brought out from the seclusion of ages, and placed among their haughty brethren, compelling their notice and ultimately their admiration and regard.

For there are sermons in these stones. Cleopatra looks the easy mistress of the world. She does not smile upon her Grecian rivals, but all can see that she is sensible of her superiority, and that they are sensible of it also. Cool and yet fiery, in intense repose and yet in intense action, conscious and still unconscious—all these contraries balancing contraries—are embodied in that statue. It seems to say, "I belong to a despised race, but you shall feel that I am your superior. What if my forehead is low, and cheek-bones high, and lips thick, and nostrils not undistended—what if all the characteristics of the negro are stamped upon my countenance? You shall acknowledge that they are no drawback to my power, that they may even be the weapons of my conquest. You shall be my slaves as my people are yours. Not every one of you can approach me. Your selected representatives and rulers, they shall be my worshippers. On them will I cast my chains. Their passions, their infatuation, shall teach all your race the folly and criminality of your pretended natural abhorrence of my blood. It is negro blood; and your Antony, the type of your beauty and culture, your Cæsar, the representative of your highest qualities of mind and will—these shall seek alliance at any sacrifice with the African. These shall teach Caucasians of every age and clime that my blood is as good as theirs, is one with theirs—that it is as great an honor and privilege for you to marry me, as for me to marry you. The time has been when, in my person and in that of these proudest names in your race, this truth was recognized. It will again be. It will be universally."

Here the Sybil opes her marble lips. Sybilla Lybica, the artist calls her. I am sorry he shrank from giving her a name by which she and her meaning would be instantly recognized. Multitudes only gather from its name that it was intended to represent some Oriental priestess, and hence see it only a work of art. It ought to be plainly printed in the catalogue—Sybilla Africa. But it is so printed in the marble; and perhaps he acted wisely in choosing words that in themselves were not repulsive, but were even attractive, and so by a little guileless guile drew attention and admiration to what would have been otherwise rejected without consideration. Hence the name of the most famous of ancient beauties is given to a plantation beauty of to-day. And the prophetess has a classic though African title, by which her origin and calling are alike suggested.

There sits the negro Sybil. How perfect the repose! Cleopatra's finger does not mar her hand. She is without voluptuousness, without rigidity; with more force than a Madonna, and with no less tenderness; with no Cassandra ravings, yet apparently on a Cassandra mission. Her sad, sweet, calm face looks toward you and yet past you, as though you were of slight importance compared with that on which her eyes are fixed. They look into the future, up to God. There is no earthly love here. She embodies the religious as the other does the earthly problems that invest this race—the divine, as that the human. She is a vestal—pure and of solemn aspect—sadly uttering her burden of vision. She does not appear to care about our answers. It is hers to speak. It is God's to take note of our replies. Can you hear her words? They are addressed directly to America, to its Christians, to its patriots—to all. Thus they seem to speak:

"Receive me as your own self or perish. I am bone of your bone and flesh of your flesh. The same God and Father made us of the same parents, redeemed us by the same Savior, renewed us by the same Spirit, appoints us the same destiny. Why put you a difference between us? Why do you carefully cultivate an abhorrence of us? My children play with yours in their youth. Why are they cast out from their society as an accursed thing as soon as they come to maturer years? Why is it that no one, with my blood in his veins, can be even a subordinate workman in any mechanical callings—a clerk or partner in your stores—a teacher in your schools? Why is it, when one of them is called to the ministry, 'not of man, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ and God the Father'—why is it that he is forbidden to exercise his sacred office except over people of his own complexion? Did God say to him, 'Go work among the black grapes in my vineyard? The white clusters only white servants can prune and perfect'? Why is it that oneness of race is practically abjured by the disciples of Christ, and scholars pervert their learning to build up a scientific foundation for your prejudices, as they have in other times for equally powerful and popular abominations!"

With many like words, she quietly penetrates our souls. She utters no complaint. She asks the questions which are appointed unto her by God. She declares the burden of judgment: "If you will not abandon your prejudices, you will be devoured of them. There is no other alternative. Do or die. You have refused to do. You are brought to the gates of death. Still you revolt from your duty. You say we will not lock shields with the negro, even to deliver ourselves from destruction. Your President urges our removal from our native land. States yet pass laws forbidding us to cross their borders. Congress seeks to bribe us into expatriation. Many of your journals, truest to human liberty, are careful to say that they do not like the colored race, and wish it were out of the way. They are defending great principles that happen to be embodied in a very offensive people. They, too, seek to crowd us out of the land by a professedly voluntary, but really compulsory, emigration." "Ah," says the Sybil, "God has joined these vital principles to this despised people, in order that they may be saved only through its admission into all the conditions of national brotherhood. You cannot preserve them unless you take me also. You have welcomed the down-trodden masses of Europe, with less culture, with less religion, with far worse habits than my people. You set no barriers to their elevation. Their blood flows freely and honorably with your own. But I, native to the soil for two hundred years and over, industrious, honest, virtuous, religious, intelligent, in comparison with my opportunities, more than they—I am still an abhorred thing. You must treat me as you do these, or you shall become like me. If you will not allow me to ascend, you must descend. Prejudices as baseless and as ruinous have existed elsewhere than in America. The Holy chapel of Paris, a marvel of wealth and beauty, was built by the most pious of the Bourbons, out of the money of the Jews, whom he robbed and expelled. Jews rule France to-day. But where are the Bourbons? Spain expelled the Moors. Where is Spain? Andernach, a once imperial town among the Rhine Mountains, has forbidden for centuries a Jew to enter her walls. He is still forbidden. But no one else enters them. Illinois may imitate pompous little Andernach. It will only be sure of a like fate. A law of repulsion, to be binding and natural, must be mutual. The Jew and Christian in the middle ages repelled each other. The Christian is becoming cured of his prejudices. The Jew will soon be of his. But this feeling, which you try to erect into a divine law, has no such necessary foundation. The African is not inwardly repelled from the rest of the human race. He has no such abhorrence. The other races, therefore, cannot say that their repugnance is natural. You have sought to make your prejudices a law of God. The slaveholders are in advance of you in this radical question. Of your race, long your rulers, they do not loathe us. They hold us in chains, not because of prejudice, but for power and help. Unless you have their feelings, you cannot break their yoke. We are chained together. You must raise us up out of this Alpine chasm, or we shall inevitably drag you down."

So speak these marbles. I have reported them honestly, though far below their full utterance. He who carved them evidently

"Wrought in a sad sincerity.
He builded greater than he knew,
The conscious stone to beauty grew."

It grew to truth, to persuasion, to prophecy. I think their artist the bravest American except John Brown. He has dared to do what the most courageous of Abolitionists have never yet dared to say. He has made a negress the model of beauty—an African prophetess the seer of America. Shall we imitate his courage? We have shown abundance of an inferior sort. We have showers of plagues upon us for refusing to exhibit that only which can save us. Our hearts are harder than Pharaoh's. There is hardly a house in which there is not one dead. And yet we will not let God's people go. Exceeding great and bitter is the cry over all the land, but we still refuse to rise and thrust them forth. We will not cover them with our national robes and jewels of liberty, equality, fraternity. They will be stripped from us if we do not share them with these our neighbors and our kindred. God has not ordered them out of the land as he did Israel, so they will not leave. Five million of people, they ask first for liberty, and then that we let them alone. They demand that you pay no more regard to complexion than to language. Let the accident of color, as of birth, be forgotten. Let every road be as freely open to their feet as to every other man. This is all they ask. You must grant it, or lose your own liberties.

While uttering these words, she seems not merely a prophetess, but the Sphinx, the organ of judgment as well as of vision. She proposes her riddle. We must solve it, or be devoured. Have we an Œdipus, who by his courageous wisdom will work out our salvation? Or shall we perish because of universal fatty? These marbles are by far the finest works of art in the Exhibition. But their art is their least excellence. This grace is poured upon them, as like fascination is upon great preachers of righteousness, that we may listen to the all-important truths they are appointed to convey. Will we listen? will we obey? . . . . .

May this remarkable courage of Mr. Story awaken corresponding courage in others. Ministers, philanthropists, Christians, patriots, let not a work of art rebuke your silence and convince you of sin. Take the position he has—the only true position. God hath made of ONE blood all nations of men. Carry it out consistently, courageously, and America shall yet be, more than ever before, the hope and glory of the whole world, and our motto, *E Pluribus Unum*, embrace in its grand significance not only States, but peoples, tongues and races of all mankind.—*Gilbert Haven, in The Independent.*

Lucerne, Aug. 10, 1862.

## *THE KINDERGARTEN—WHAT IS IT?*

I WOULD say, in answer, to inquiry on this subject, that the system is called the child-garden, because the children are considered plants, to be reared, trained and cultivated according to their innate nature. Its first principles were enunciated by Pestalozzi years ago in his "Book to Mothers"; but it was reserved for Friedrich Froebel to perfect the methods and means by which this system can be carried out. The most important of these are a succession of physical, mental, artistic and mechanical plays or exercises, based on the irrepressible activity and love of change, so characteristic of childhood. The very restlessness, so tiresome to the adult, is made use of to lay the foundation of a usefulness as broad as the domain of Nature.

The next most important feature of this system is "object teaching," in which real things, or in their lieu, pictures, are used instead of books. The very great advantage of this idea need not be dwelt upon, as it will be obvious to all who understand child-nature. Miss E. P. Peabody, who has had one of these schools in successful operation for a year in Boston, says: "I was obliged to modify Froebel's plan. It was impossible to have accommodations for growing plants or keeping animals in the neighborhood of the Common, where my children generally live." The same difficulty would of course exist in any city locality, but as these are not by any means the most important points to be considered in a kindergarten, their absence is not a material disadvantage.

The plan adopted for teaching the alphabet is, to let the children print on their slates after the copy on the blackboard made by the teacher. Miss Peabody teaches reading to beginners from the "First Nursery Reading Book," whose letters have but one sound, the old Roman sounds of the alphabet, the other words of the language being learned *by rote* from "Mother Goose," or any other piece of child literature. It is with the belief that the principle of the Kindergarten may be introduced with benefit among older pupils, and that some change is necessary in our present methods of instruction, which lead in a majority of cases to a life-long distaste of study, as unnatural as it is lamentable, that I intend to make a practical trial of its advantages in my school, No. 79 East Fifteenth street, during the next year. At the end of that time I will invite those interested to witness some of its results.

Yours, respectfully, F. V. HALLOCK.

## NOW.

Arise, for the day is passing
While you lie dreaming on;
Your brothers are cased in armor,
And forth to the fight are gone;
Your place in the ranks awaits you;
Each man has a part to play;
The past and the future are nothing
In the face of the stern to-day.

Arise from your dreams of the future—
Of gaining a hard-fought field,
Of storming the airy fortress,
Of bidding that giant yield!
Your life may have deeds of glory,
Of honor; God grant it may!
But your arm will never be stronger,
Or needed as now to-day.

Arise! If the past detain you,
Her sunshine and storms forget;
No chains so unworthy to hold you
As those of a vain regret;
Sad or bright, she is lifeless ever;
Cast her phantom arms away,
Nor look back, save to learn the lesson
Of a noble strife to-day.

Arise! for the hour is passing;
The sound that you dimly hear
Is your enemy marching to battle;
Rise! rise! for the foe is near.
Stay not to brighten your weapons,
Or the hour will strike at last,
And from dreams of a coming battle
You will wake, and find it past.

—*Household Words.*

## *THE GOVERNMENT AND THE BLACKS.*

Correspondence of The Evening Post.

HILTON HEAD, Sept. 11, 1862.

* * * YOUR readers are all aware, no doubt, that the colored regiment which was gotten up by Gen. Hunter's order, and which has provoked so much controversy, has disbanded. The reason of this was, that the good General did not think it right to keep the men on military duty any longer, without some assurance of their being paid as soldiers. He had repeatedly urged upon the government that some provisions be made for such payment, but he got no answer, and therefore he had no alternative but either to do injustice to the men, or else to abandon the whole thing. Yet it is understood here that the goverment encouraged the measure, so far as to furnish arms and equipments for the regiment. For myself, I cannot positively affirm this to be true, for the General may have done it without express authority from Washington; but thus much, at all events, seems clear enough, that the government *practically* encouraged the thing by allowing it to go on so long. And the effect in this, as in divers other cases, has been merely to exasperate the rebels while really doing nothing to cut the sinews of their wicked enterprise. In other words, the government has meddled with slavery just enough, and in just the right way, to strengthen and consolidate the rebellion. How long this strange course of "half-faced fellowship" is to be pursued, "letting I Dare Not wait upon I Would," remains to be seen. The impolicy of it, letting alone the question of right, seems evident enough.

It is well known that the late colored regiment had white men for its commissioned officers; sergeants and corporals of other regiments being generally detailed, with their own consent, for that purpose. I have talked with several of these officers, and never heard but one report from them: That the negroes behaved well, and promised well, as soldiers; stood readily to the line of military order and discipline; showed themselves apt and quick to learn; and were delighted with the prospect of being taught and trained to fight like men for freedom and their rights. For my own part, as I have long held that there is a good deal of human nature in the negro, I had hoped something of good might grow out of the undertaking, both to the negro and ourselves. And inasmuch as, in the prosecution of this most just and necessary war, the government had, and could not but have, more or less of the negro on its hands, I therefore thought, as I still think, that in the first place it could best take care of them, and keep them in order, under a military organization; and that in the second place, whatever of manhood there may be in them, would find its best development and exercise in the practice of the military art. Moreover, it is notorious that the negroes fought for our freedom in the War of Independence; in view of which fact, I see no reason which we should not blush to avow why they should not be allowed to fight for their own freedom now; especially since our freedom has now come to be inseparable from theirs. For who does not see that the time is at hand to make our freedom theirs, else it will soon cease to be ours?

It must be confessed, however, that to Gen. Hunter's plan there was one great obstacle which had not been taken into account. I refer to the disposition evinced towards the poor negroes by the soldiers of this army. Here we have something as bad as can well be conceived—something that should fill us with the deepest shame and sorrow. Whether it be that the General was somewhat too emphatic in his patronage of the negroes, or whether it be that the Northern soul, as here represented, is utterly inverted and dishumanized on this subject, certain it is that the General's course has occasioned some of the vilest and meanest exhibitions of human depravity that it has ever been my lot to witness. Many, very many, of the soldiers, and not a few of the officers, have habitually treated the negroes with the coarsest and most brutal insolence and inhumanity; never speaking to them or of them but to curse and revile them, to say all manner of evil against them, and to threaten and imprecate all manner of evil upon them. Again and again have I been made thoroughly heart-sick at hearing the unmeasured ribaldry and profanity and indignity which have thus been spewed, as if from the gorge of hell itself, upon these unoffending, much-suffering people. God help them! for I fear there is no mercy nor justice for them in the white man. And Gen. Hunter's earnest benevolence towards them has but purchased for them tenfold returns of cruelty and abuse from the soldiers of his command. Every act of kindness in their behalf seems to be resented by these savages of the army as an intolerable affront to themselves. And, as the negro stands helpless and defenceless before them, their miserable spite takes the most mean and cowardly way of venting itself upon him. From the speech and action of these creatures (I dare not call them men), one would really suppose the negroes alone to blame for the infernal rebellion which the slaveholders have raised. Often, while reflecting on the matter—often am I saying to myself, "O God! O God! where is this to end? and what is to come of it?" Indeed, I can hardly think of these things but that I feel almost ready to despair of my country's cause. For, surely, if right, if justice, if mercy, if manhood, be dear to Heaven, we can expect nothing but the sternest and severest discipline as a nation, until this horrible savagery shall have been chastised out of our people. What do we, what can we deserve, but to be scourged without pity, till we learn to have some pity on our wronged and suffering fellow-men!

I tell you what, Messrs. Editors, there has got to be a great change of public sentiment in and throughout the loyal States before the controversy now pending can be fully settled. Till that change come, Providence has a controversy with us; a controversy not to be slaked but by rivers of blood and tears. Think you that we can, with impunity, worship freedom and still do voluntary sacrifice to slavery! That we love freedom only heightens our guilt if our conduct be such as to prove that we love it all for ourselves and none for others. The people of the great, free, powerful North, and the National government as their representative, must learn to respect freedom and justice and the common rights of humanity in the negro race. And I speak advisedly when I say that, taking the army of this department as a specimen, the Northern people have not, to-day, half so much respect for those rights in the negro as the rebels and slaveholders have. Unquestionably the negroes have been treated far worse by the soldiers here than they ever were by their late owners, who felt some interest in them *as* property at least, and used them with nearly as much gentleness as they did their other live stock. It is idle to say that the negroes escape from slavery, at least by coming or staying within our lines. A large part of our soldiery seem to take a mean pride in lording it over them as slaves, and to think they cannot duly mark their own superiority but by heaping the grossest outrages upon them. And who should need to be told, that of all the hateful parts of tyranny its insults and contumelies are the hatefulest and the hardest to bear? What, then, can be clearer than that, if these people are still to be treated as slaves, they must naturally prefer to be with their old masters, where some kindly affections have grown up to mitigate the wrongs and indignities of bondage? And such, I am confident, is the feeling that prevails among them at this time. I have it from a good source, that the heroic gentleman (for he *is* a gentleman) who lately brought the gunboat Planter away from Charleston, said in a noble agony of disappointment and grief at the cruel usage put upon him, that the people of Charleston always treated him with far more respect than he had met with here; and that he had made up his mind to leave the country forever, as he despaired of ever finding a home where he could live in honest peace and freedom in this "land of the free and home of the brave."

This is indeed a fearful record against us, but I believe it to be strictly true. And, in view of all this, while I must needs grieve much, as a man, for the unhappy negroes who have here sought refuge under our flag; at the same time I must needs grieve far more, as an American, for my country, thus dishonored by her unnatural sons, who go forth with the voice of freedom on their tongues and nothing but the venom of slavery in their hearts. Surely, we cannot hope for success to our national cause—the awful powers of sovereign justice cannot allow us to succeed—so long as we permit our cause to be stained with this abominable foulness. May God forgive us the sins which we have committed, we of the loyal States, against this oppressed and unoffending race of people.

Gen. Hunter tried his best to check the hideous evil in question, but it has proved too strong for him; as it will, indeed, prove too strong for any man, till the government takes a decided stand in behalf of the negroes seeking refuge beneath its flag, and boldly pledges all its power to the task of protecting them in their rights as citizens of the republic. Therefore, I say, there must be a great change of public sentiment in the North, and in the action of the government, touching this matter. Let it be understood, once for all, that faith in freedom, without works, is dead, and therefore can only serve to aggravate the condemnation of those who profess it. Justice is, indeed, a fearful Divinity: though full of sweetness in herself, yet her mild nature can be terrible. Woe to the man, woe to the nation, that deliberately and perseveringly spurns her admonitions! We must make up our minds to reverence humanity, its rights and its hopes, in the poor negro, otherwise Heaven is against us, nature is against us, the mind and heart of the whole Christian world are against us; our own conscience, in so far as we have any, is against us; the spirit and principles of human liberty everywhere are against us.

Thank God, we are not without some plain tokens that the change in question has begun, and is now making haste; "far off its coming shines." And when it shall have come we shall all understand, as some have done from the first outbreak of the present war, that slavery has forced itself into a mortal duel with our national being, and that one of them has got to die; and this, too, by the other's hand.

LOYALTY.

## *THE AMERICAN QUESTION ABROAD.*

BROOKLYN, Sept. 16, 1862.

BROTHER EDITOR: At your request, I send you a brief statement of the impressions gathered during my late foreign tour, in regard to our American struggle. Our friends in Europe have a right to be heard. Our enemies (and they are legion) will yet make themselves heard, and it is the part of wisdom to learn from our bitterest foes. European opinion is of vast importance just now; for unless we make a speedy end of this diabolical rebellion, European interference will add tenfold horrors and perils to the conflict.

1. We have *nearly* all the aristocracy, and quite all the "absolutists" against us. They hate our republicanism, and desire our separation; the more fragments the better. Considering the slaveholders more aristocratic, and the North more plebeian, they sympathize with the "lords of the lash" and the barons of the plantation.

2. The *commercial* interests are mostly against us. Our tariff they abhor; and the South is lavish of splendid promises of free trade. The want of cotton, and the sufferings in the manufacturing districts, make them clamorous for peace on any terms. They are under the delusion that the *shortest* road to peace lies through Southern success. In Liverpool secession is as noisily rampant as in Mobile.

3. A tremendous effort is making to stop the war on the ground of *humanity*. It is plausibly urged that "the rebels *cannot* be conquered," and such enormous bloodshed is a wilful crime. The policy is therefore to combine France, England and other powers against us, to *compel a peace*. The feeling is growing in this direction; and our late reverses have given new courage and confidence to our enemies.

I am fully persuaded, from what I gathered from our representatives abroad, and our friends, that unless we can gain decisive successes over the pro-slavery conspiracy within sixty days, the Southern "Confederacy" will be recognized, and recognition *will be followed by combined intervention.* Would that our countrymen could realize that unless we soon settle our controversy for ourselves, Europe will help settle it for us, and not to our liking.

4. This war has unmasked the hollowness of *much* of the anti-slavery professions in Great Britain. Many a man has denounced American slavery, simply *because it was American*; and now when trade suffers, the hypocritical "hater of the sin" is ready to sell his conscience for a cotton bale.

But on the other hand, there is an immense array of true opponents of oppression, including Christian ministers and church-members, who sympathize with us, but who complain of the course of our government in regard to slavery. They say: "You know in America that the slaveholders set on foot this conspiracy to overthrow your government. You know that slavery constitutes the fiery, venomous *heart* of the rebellion. You know that slaves feed the rebel armies, and build the ramparts behind which the enemies of your country shoot down your own sons. You *ought* to know that national unity never can be restored until slavery is conquered and cleaned out utterly. Why do you not make a bold stroke for emancipation, and enlist the friends of liberty on your side? Your cause demands *moral* aid the world over. Your President Lincoln talks more for 'Union' than for liberty; he seems to care more for the preservation of territory than for the maintenance of human rights." So speak out many good men who love America, and who pray for our success. Among this class are Rev. Newman Hall, Dr. Hamilton, and thousands of the best men in Europe. *Every* prayer that I heard was mainly for two objects. 1st for peace, and 2d for the overthrow of oppression.

5. Our truest friends abroad counsel immediate, thorough, vigorous action, and a direct attempt to *enlist the slaves on our side*, and for their own liberty. They urge that an uprising of the blacks would bring home much of the force now in arms on the Potomac, and so end the war more speedily, and save vast bloodshed. They say, "Do right, proclaim freedom, trust God, and he will guide you to the best practical methods to destroy the hydra." They think that we have had quite *thunder* enough; what we want now is more *lightning*. Our best advocates are losing heart through our tardiness, our party distractions, our want of bold, decisive blows for the Union and liberty. On one side they see red-hot earnestness; the "words" of the South are "drawn swords"; but on our side they hear too much senseless babble about "conciliation," "compromise" and "constitutional guarantees" to slavery.

At the Hotel du Louvre, in Paris, I overheard a Southern secessionist give his candid opinion of the issue of the war. Said he: "This war *must* have one of two results. Either in a few months we will see two separate governments in America, each of them strong enough to command the respect of the civilized world; or else Lincoln will cut up slavery by the roots, open the South to foreign and Northern emigration, revolutionize Southern society, and make the South just like the Yankee North." *That* man evidently saw his way into the core of the controversy. He knew what the South dreads, what she expects, and what we would yet be driven to do.

6. A word now as to personal affairs. Prince Napoleon is with us. The Emperor keeps his own secrets. The world knows what he *means* to do, *when he has done it* (I wish our Generals would all imitate his example). Earl Russell hates the South and slavery, and will only yield to intervention when he is forced to do so. John Bright is earnest for us, but does not accomplish much good; his party is weak, and are called "the *un-English* Englishmen." Cobden thinks we ought to let the whole secession pro-slavery crew go off in peace. He opposes our war *in toto*. No man is doing us more service than the accomplished Rev. William Arthur, who visited America three years ago. He is having many interviews with Palmerston, Russell, Shaftesbury and others. He has full faith in our success in the overthrow of the rebellion and of its gigantic and infamous cause. Arthur's wealth, eloquence and purity of character give him great influence. Count Gasparin's books help us materially.

7. Finally, good men everywhere are praying for our cause. If we are true to God and human rights, we cannot fail; if we falter now, if we talk compromise and concession, if we hide the great sin, Achan-like, in our tents, the American Union is gone forever! I write you in great haste.

With many pleasant memories of pleasant friendships in the Dutch Church, not soon to be sundered, and with hearty sympathy for your every blow for American liberty, I remain,

Yours for Christ and our country.

—*Christian Intelligencer.* THEO. L. CUYLER.

## *THE HAYTIAN JOHN BROWN FUND.*

### A CARD.

AFTER deducting expenses incurred in the Island, the fund contributed to the relief of the families of the martyrs of Harper's Ferry, by the people of Hayti, amounted to $3,349 47.

The Haytian Committee directed that an American Committee be requested to disburse this amount, according to a letter of instruction which enumerated the parties and sums.

Messrs. B. C. Clark, Charles Sumner, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips and the undersigned were named the American Committee.

They have disbursed the following amounts to the parties below named:

| | |
|---|---|
| Mrs. John Brown, Sr., | $1,674 47 |
| Mrs. Cook (widow of John E. Cook), | 209 35 |
| Mrs. Leary (widow of Lewis S. Leary), | 209 35 |
| John Brown, Jr. (son of Capt. John Brown), | 209 34 |
| Owen Brown, " " " | 209 34 |
| O. P. Anderson (only colored survivor of John Brown's men), | 209 34 |
| | $2,721 19 |

There remains to be distributed $628 28. By a mistake in the letter of instructions, not more than one-third of this amount can be disbursed until further directions from the Haytian Committee. The friends of Leeman, Tidd, Kagi, Stevens, Hazlitt, Oliver Brown, Copeland and Coppoc will please regard this card as an answer to their letters; they may be assured that, as soon as there is any authority received under which they can be aided, no time will be lost in communicating with them.

Of the five followers of John Brown who escaped from Harper's Ferry, only three now survive—Owen Brown, F. J. Meriam and O. P. Anderson. Tidd joined Burnside's Expedition, and died at Roanoke Island on the eve of a victory; Barclay Coppoc, whose brother was executed at Charlestown, was one of the victims of the Platte Bridge atrocity. John Brown, Cook, Thompson and Leary leave widows—all poor. Leeman, Kagi, Hazlitt, Tidd, Copeland and, I believe, Stevens also, leave parents—all poor.

Mrs. Hazlitt has given four sons to the Federal army; one was wounded at Gaines's Mill, and we are told that the last seen of another, "he was fighting the rebels hand to hand like a tiger."

The brother of Tidd is in the Western army.

Owen Brown is physically unfit for military duty; John, Jr., was a captain in Jennison's 2d Kansas Regiment until sickness compelled him to resign. His place is now filled by Mr. Hoyt, the young Massachusetts lawyer who volunteered to defend John Brown at Charlestown.

The mother of the Coppocs is old, infirm, poor, childless and almost blind. Europe and America have produced many heroic women, but I question whether the annals of Rome, England or America preserve the memory of a truer heroine than this sublime old mother. This is an extract from a letter I recently received from her:

> "I had two noble sons in this conflict, who subsequently lost their lives by that monster, *slavery*; viz., Edwin and Barclay Coppoc. But, if the great Disposer of Events has seen fit to accept the sacrifice as a sweet-smelling savor to the great cause of freedom, I cheerfully submit. . . . My desire is, that every branch of the great Upas Tree Oppression may be topped off and the trunk hewn down, that the true spirit of Christianity may be promulgated throughout the world."

The two men who treacherously seized poor Cook as he was escaping North, and sent him back to Virginia to be murdered, are both in jail—one in a felon's cell, the other under guard as a traitor, but not a prisoner of war; both, probably, will be hanged, as he prophesied they would be.

Who knows but that the hemp may have already ripened which, properly prepared, shall end the earthly life of Henry A. Wise, the eulogist and hangman of John Brown?

The people who rejoiced at the murder of the old hero of Harper's Ferry have had their country made a blackened wilderness, wet with the blood of their children.

The last news I heard of Copeland, the father of the colored martyr who was hanged at Charlestown, announced that he was in a regiment which had encamped on the very spot where his son was murdered.

Truly, "the mill of God grinds slowly, but it grinds exceeding small."

As Sojourner Truth quaintly said, "God is not dead yet"; and we all know that John Brown's soul is marching on, in the direction of the White House—determined to go through it or over it. Let us hope he will be cordially welcomed, and that Abraham Lincoln may soon be numbered in the list of brave and noble heroes to be known in history as John Brown's men.

JAMES REDPATH.

## *A SLAVE'S APPEAL TO LORD PALMERSTON.*

From The London Anti-Slavery Reporter

THE following letter has been addressed to Viscount Palmerston, by a slave at Charleston. The original was forwarded by us to his Lordship, as sent, namely, in a sealed envelope. We presume we are violating no confidence to publish the appeal, which, though a curiosity in its way, probably indicates the feelings of the intelligent portion of the slave population of the South, who have access to European news.

CHARLESTON, 1st, 1862.

MY LORD: We take this as the fit time that you and the world should know how we are treated in this part of the globe. It is generally believed here, in Charleston, South Carolina, that in less than ninety days time, that England and France would recognize the so-called Confederacy, and raise the blockade, so that this slave country may be independent forever. Now, my lord, we, as poor, down-trodden, oppressed creatures, would ask the entire Christian, civilized nations of the earth, if they really intend to open their bands of liberty and freedom, and take within their bosom a people wrapped in the labors of four million of oppressed and helpless creatures, and whose hands are dripping in the sweat and blood of the same. We will appeal to England and France, and to the rest of Europe: we will ask, in the name of heaven and earth, in the name of all things that are good and great, in the name of the great and most high God, shall such a recognition ever be obtained by this people? God forbid, heaven forbid, angels forbid, and let all creation join and forbid it forever; for if this people ever be recognized as a slave nation, our doom will be fixed forever, our hope everlastingly lost, and the dark, the black clouds of slavery would hang over us forever, until the trump of God shall sound to awake the nation from the chambers of the dust. O England, Christian and true England, is it possible that you, who first brought us into this country, will now extend thy power so as to keep us in slavery forever. My lord, your lordship must have a very faint knowledge of what slavery is. If you would but know what slavery is, and see all its horrors, you must visit the plantation of South Carolina, the State-street-brokers' office and the workhouse of Charleston; there will you find a treatment upon human beings carried on by white men, proud of their education, Christianity, civilization and their high, true honor; and yet these same pretended Christians carry on in these places the most brutish, inhuman, degrading and diabolical practices that earth ever saw or heaven ever beheld. They prostitute our minds and our daughters, forcibly take away from them their, ah! their sacred right, brutalize them, and then sell them to the highest bidder. And, my lord, since this war has begun, if we are met in the road without a clear pass signed by Gen. Ripley, we are immediately shot down like brutes, for fear we might escape and go over to the Yankees, who have proved themselves the only friends we have on this earth, God alone excepted. The South came out of the Union, because she has made cotton king, and believed that England and France would immediately crown him king of all the earth, and the South would then place him upon a throne made of the life, flesh and blood and labor of not less than four million of helpless souls. O thou great Jehovah, will thou not rise up in the power of thy might, and with thine Almighty hand sweep human slavery off the face of this earth henceforth and forever. My lord, you might think that this is addressed to your lordship by some white man, or by a Yankee in Charleston; but believe it not; it is done by a poor, downtrodden slave, who feels sorely the terror of the yoke, he and his whole family. Lastly, allow this poor slave to beg of you and all England a great favor, namely, if you love God, liberty and human freedom, put this letter in the London *Times*, and in the London *Post*. I have a great deal more to say, but good night, my lord. May my God put it in your heart to do something for the poor slave in this country. If you will recognize this country, you would recognize it as a free country only.

THE perfection of the Divine system is revealed in the mutual dependencies which unite all creatures. All lean upon one another, and give while they receive support. No man is unnecessary; no man stands alone. God has brought us thus near to each other, that his goodness may be reflected from heart to heart.—*Channing.*

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New York, July 4, 1862.

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